FBIS DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

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INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Zhivkov Receives Marshal Kulikov 17 March [BTA] AA 1
Briefs: Engineering, Electronics Sessions End AA 1

CSCE/MBFR/DISARMAMENT

Progress at Stockholm Conference Evaluated BB 1
GDR Ambassador Cited [ADN] BB 1
PPR Envoy Criticizes West [PAP] BB 1
Progress, Prospects Weighed [Prague] BB 2
Hungarian Delegate Interviewed [Budapest] BB 3
Prospects at Vienna MBFR Talks Assessed BB 4
Sundic: Effect on Geneva [Zagreb] BB 4
U.S. Actions Urged [Soldal, Prague Television] BB 6
CSSR Delegate [Prague] BB 7
Polish Envoy [Budapest] BB 7
ZERI I POPULLIT: Valueless [ATA] BB 8

ALBANIA

Reports on Italian Government, Trade Group B 1
Delegation Arrives B 1
Carcani-Capria Talks B 1
1984 Trade Protocol Signed B 1
Hoxha Greets Shock Brigade on Anniversary B 2
Alia, Carcani Mark Anniversary B 3

BULGARIA

Deputy Minister Gotsev Visits Netherlands C 1
Gotsev Meets Belgian Foreign Affairs Officials C 1
Economic Session With British Delegates Continues C 2
BTA Defends Papandreou Against Western Attacks C 2
Lukanov Returns From Poland, GDR 14 March C 3
[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 15 Mar]
Zhivkov Awards Champion Athletes in Sofia C 3
Zhivkov Visits Painter's Exhibition in Sofia C 3
Zhivkov, Politburo Visit Fashion Exhibition C 4
Atanasov in Stara Zagora; New Secretary Elected C 4
Leaders Attend Ceremonies, Meetings 11-17 March C 4
Data Released on 1983 Energy Production C 5
Briefs: Economic Cooperation With DPRK; C 5
Trade With EFTA Countries

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Chnoupek, Soviet Envoy Discuss Cooperation D 1
USSR Official Criticizes CSSR Trade Practices D 1
["JCI" in Bratislava PRAVDA 15 Mar]

Soviet Policies Under Chernenko Reviewed D 2
[Hederling in Bratislava PRAVDA 15 Mar]
Interior Minister Returns From Visit to PPR D 4
[RUDE PRAVO 15 Mar]
LCY's Markovic Cited on Economic Troubles D 5
["(AR)" in RUDE PRAVO 15 Mar]
Goods Exchange Protocol Signed With Afghanistan D 5

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Honecker Replies to Ecuador President's Letter E 1
SPD Spokesman Voigt Describes Vogel Visit E 1
DKP Statement on Bundestag Intra-German Debate E 2
Axen, Belgian ACE Leader Discuss Peace Moves E 4
Stoph Holds Talks With Egyptian Minister E 4
Consular Agreement With Belgium Ratified E 5
Honecker Greets Israeli Communist Party Leader E 5
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 15 Mar]
Mittag Toasts USSR Delegation to Trade Fair E 5
CSSR Delegation Arrives for Spring Fair E 6
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 15 Mar]
Guyana Discusses Economic Relations in Leipzig E 6
[Georgetown]
Gerstner Views Microelectronics Industry Advances E 7
Briefs: Cooperation with FRG Firm; E 7
Educational Cooperation With DRA;
Contracts Concluded in Leipzig;
Ambassador to Brazil;
Protocol With PDRY

HUNGARY

Horvath-Led Delegation Returns From Iraq F 1
Foreign Trade Minister on Economic Prospects F 1
MAGYAR HIRLAP on Economic Relations with GDR F 2
Istvan Sarlos on Medium-Term Research Plan F 2

POLAND

PZPR National Delegates Conference Held G 1
Jaruzelski Opening Speech G 1
Politburo Report G 3
Messner Economic Report G 24
16 March Proceedings Summarized G 39
17 March Debates G 40
Summary of Debates G 41
Group Meetings Held G 41
More on Group Sessions G 42
Press Conference Held G 44
Barcikowski Address G 45
Jaruzelski Closing Address G 46
693 Speakers at Conference G 50
Porebski Statement G 50
Press Review G 52
Cardinal Glemp Speaks on Removal of Crucifixes G 53
[Vatican City]

Authorities Summon Priests in Crucifix Case [AFP] G 54
Militiamen Reportedly Abuse Political Prisoners [AFP] G 54
BBC, NY TIMES Reporters To See Interior Minister [AFP] G 54
Culture Minister Meets SRV Premier; Ends Visit G 55
Jaruzelski Receives Ethiopian Delegation G 55

ROMANIA

GDR Planning Chief Visits, Signs Protocol H 1
Received by Dascalescu H 1
Received by Ceausescu H 1
Planning Protocol Signed H 2
Iranian Foreign Minister Ends Official Talks H 2
Economic Commission with Turkey Signs Protocol H 2
Oprea Receives DPRK State Planning Official H 3
RCP CC Greetings to Dominican CP Congress H 3
[SCINTEIA 15 Mar]
Cypriot Paper Carries Dobrescu EDEK Address H 6
[TA NEA 16 Mar]
Ceausescu Receives Angolan Foreign Minister H 6
Minister Meets Andrei, Others H 7
Protocol Signed at Talks' End H 7

YUGOSLAVIA

Moscow's Stance on U.S. Dialogue 'Unchanged' [Stosic] I 1
Effects of CSSR's Anti-West Propaganda I 1
[Djukic in POLITIKA 15 Mar]
Spiljak Official Visit to CSSR 'This Month' I 3
IMF Negotiations; Moves To Correct Deficiencies I 3
[Mandic]
Slovene Assembly Hears Report on IMF Talks I 4
Belgrade Conference Discusses Political Activity I 4
Briefs: Hard Coal Deposits I 5

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES MARSHAL KULIKOV 17 MARCH

AU171407 Sofia BTA in English 1249 GMT 17 Mar 84

[Text] Sofia, March 17 (BTA) -- Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, the Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, who is here in connection with the planned command-staff exercixe of the allied forces and navies "SOYUZ-84".

Marshal Viktor Kulikov reported on the proceeding of the exercise which is being carried out on the territories of Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, the southwestern regions of the Soviet Union and the aquatoria of the Black Sea.

They had a detailed talk on a wide range of questions related to the cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

The meeting which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, was attended also by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defence of Bulgaria, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP.

BRIEFS

ENGINEERING ELECTRONICS SESSIONS END -- A session of CEMA countries' engineering experts ended in Gottwaldov [CSSR] on 9 March with the signing of a protocol. Experts from Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, and the USSR discussed the coordination of state norms for the production of rims, tires, and some tools for motor vehicles. The talks will contribute to the unification of regulations and standardization in the CEMA countries, necessary because of the expanding cooperation among engineering spheres and the increasingly extensive exchange of goods. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Mar 84 p 2 AU] The 47th session of the CEMA Standing Commission for Cooperation in the Radiotechnical and Electronic Industries ended with the signing of a protocol in Prague on 9 March. The talks, held on 5-9 March, were attended by delegations from the CSSR, Bulgaria, Cuba, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and -- in accordance with an accord concluded between CEMA and the SFRY Government -- also by a Yugoslav delegation. Among other things, the commission assessed the progress of work on the realization of an intergovernmental agreement on establishing a unified parts base for electronics and as regards ensuring special equipment and semiconductor materials for their production. It also paid attention to cooperation in the production of new types of color television sets and approved a number of draft agreements on scientific-technical cooperation in that sphere. The session was held "in an atmosphere of fruitful cooperation, fraternal friendship, and full mutual understanding." [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Mar 84 p 2 AU]

PROGRESS AT STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE EVALUATED

GDR Ambassador Cited

LD170037 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1806 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Excerpt] Stockholm, 16 Mar (ADN) -- At the end of the first session of the Stockholm conference the representatives of the GDR and the Soviet Union again pointed the way today to reducing the danger of a military confrontation and restoring trust and security. On behalf of the GDR, Ambassador Guenter Buehring called for consistent measures for preventing a nuclear war. It is necessary to render relations between states calculable again. The Stockholm conference offers a chance for this in accordance with its brief, the speaker said.

In their proposals the socialist states by no means demand exclusiveness. The proposals and initiatives submitted by the neutral and nonaligned states are carefully examined, especially since they contain elements that correspond with their own ideas.

Ambassador Buehring criticized the fact that the ideas so far submitted by the NATO states do not touch on the areas posing the greatest dangers for peace and security, in particular the prevention of a nuclear war. Here an attempt is being made to restrict oneself to less important and formal military areas and thus narrow the task of the conference. This will, however, mean that the NATO states will disregard the legitimate security interests of all those involved.

PPR Envoy Criticizes West

LD170957 Warsaw PAP in English 0724 GMT 17 Mar 84

[Text] Stockholm 16 March -- Scandinavian correspondents of the PAP Polish press agency and the PUWP CC daily TRYBUNA LUDU have asked Ambassador Wolodzimierz Konarski, who headed the Polish delegation, to size up and comment on the first round of the Stockholm conference.

It was a presentation of views and standpoints of the participating states. Though they were not drawn any closer, but various ways of reaching agreement were defined, said Konarski. Poland and other Warsaw Treaty states came out with significant proposals for confidence building measures of the political and military character. In our view, such agreements as those on renunciation of the use of force or non-use of nuclear weapons as the first side could restore this level of confidence which is indispensable for the further progress in military detente in Europe.

The United States and its NATO allies are trying to limit the future conference provisions to exclusively military-technical issues and those concerning ground troops in Europe. They are refusing to agree to take up subjects of key importance, like those connected with the threat of nuclear conflict in Europe. But this state of affairs must be accepted as the starting point for negotiations. Apart from remarkable divergencies, the first session also revealed a commonly accepted need for the further development of confidence building measures contained in respective provisions of the Helsinki Final Act.

The continuing tension in East-West relations and the arms race fanned up by the militarist NATO circles run counter to confidence building. It is all the more difficult to work out agreement at the Stockholm conference. Hence, one should expect the prospect of long-running negotiations to depend to a large extent on the evolution of the international situation.

Progress, Prospects Weighed

LD172314 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 17 Mar 84

[Text] The proceedings of the conference of the countries that signed the Final Act on measures to strengthen confidence and security and on disarmament in Europe, held in Stockholm, were adjourned yesterday until 8 May. Antonin Kostka, an editor, is the author of the following commentary on the results achieved by the conference to date:

For negotiations for which final results are not to be examined, according to the final document adopted by the representatives of the signatory countries in Madrid, until their next meeting in Vienna in 1986, such a break is nothing unusual. Such breaks are even essential to assess the progress so far and for the individual delegations to define further their future course of action following consultations with their respective governments or various interstate consultative meetings. This is why the fact that the almost 2-months-long negotiations in Stockholm have not as yet brought any concrete result should not cause any concern to anyone. After all, there took place a very broad of views during which positions were clarified. All the participants, whether individually or within the framework of the appropriate groupings, put forward their proposals and voiced their comments, views, or objections to the positions and proposals submitted by others. If besides this the Stockholm talks have become at the same time a convincing proof of the vitality of the idea of detente and of the overwhelming desire to intensify further international cooperation, strengthen confidence, and carry out the principles of peaceful coexistence, then this certainly is no small achievement, particularly in the current tense and explosive international situation.

What is disquieting, however, is something else, and that is the totally unconstructive position adopted by Washington and its allies, a position that is the more disquieting since what is at issue is not merely lack of progress arising from the differences of views. Such differences would be quite natural, after all, and would not close the to compromises, if they were accompanied by a sufficient amount of good will. The thing is, something different is at issue here.

On the very day the conference opened the American secretary of state, in his official speech, questioned the postwar set-up in Europe. The United States, he said literally, does not recognize the validity of the artificial division that was forced on Europe. And last Thursday -- that is, so to speak, at the end of the first stage of the conference -- Kohl, the West German chancellor, stated within the framework of the government's statement that the German question continues to remain open, that the nationak task remains to bring about the unity and freedom of Germany in a united Europe and in free self-determination -- words of an unconcealed revanchist coinage, even if Kohl did not say in the same statement that allegedly a peaceful settlement in Europe is not possible without the use of force.

Since the stage that has just ended, framed conspicuously in this way with hardly reassuring pronouncements, was accompanied by the installation of new American first-strike nuclear missiles, then even the most carefree optimist can overlook the efforts of Washington and its allies to undermine the conference.

True, in Stockholm Western representatives were not sparing of these assurances of good will, their interest in strengthening confidence, their willingness to enter into a dialogue and negotiations and to come to agreements. But to site new missiles right in front of one's windows while at the same time demanding his confidence is not in any way convincing -- the more so because all proposals put forward by NATO states on confidence-building measures pursue the sole objective of pushing through a system of control which would enable them to acquire as much information as possible about military structures and other targets on which these very missiles are targeted.

In this situation there is no need for clairvoyance to deduce that if continuations of the conference are not to be fruitless, as was the stage that has just ended, then the current break in the proceedings must be used properly by the NATO representative to acquire a greater degree of realism in their position. To think that the socialist countries will allow the West to misuse the conference for the aims of the policy of strength and military preparations is pure illusion. The position of the socialist countries is reflected unequivocally in their proposals at the conference. The current critical situation calls for resolute and far-reaching measures for the benefit of confidence and security. This is why it is necessary to freeze armament, curb military spending, conclude an agreement on the nonuse of force between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states, create nuclear-free zones in Europe, and eliminate chemical weapons from the continent. The discussion during the proceedings of the first stage of the conference proved convincingly that only this course of the balanced reduction in the level of arms on both sides can lead to realistic results, to a real strengthening of confidence and a greater degree of security in Europe.

Hungarian Delegate Interviewed

LD172307 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 17 Mar 84

[From the "168 Hours" program]

[Text] Yesterday the Stockholm conference for strengthening trust and security in Europe ended its first phase. Istvan Kulcsar interviewed by telephone Istvan Varga, ambassador and leader of the Hungarian delegation, following the end of the session yesterday.

[Begin recording] [Kulcsar] What has happened at the Stockholm conference so far?

[Varga] The Stockholm conference, which deals with measures strengthening European trust, security, and disarmament, began on 17 January this year. At the opening session of the conference the foreign ministers of states participating in the process of European security were also present, which imparted great significance to the opening of the conference. This is understandable because the European nations and public opinion are watching with great expectation the activity and operations of this conference. The conference will take several years to fulfill its mission. In the first phase, which lasted for 9 weeks and which has ended now on 16 March, the partial exposition of stands has taken place; there has been a very useful debate, which laid the foundation for further specific consultations.

[Kulcsar] How can the essence of these stands briefly be summarized?

[Varga] Fundementally two main approaches were outlined. The first, that is, that of the states of the Warsaw Pact which -- considering the present tense international situation caused by the deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, in some West European countries -- introduced on this basis such measures and comprehensive proposals of great importance that are capable of improving the situation in Europe and of reducing the military conflict on the European Continent. I would mention among these proposals of great importance that we proposed that those states in possession of nuclear weapons which participate in the process of European security and cooperation and in this conference should renounce, as the Soviet Union has already done, the first use of nuclear weapons against each other.

The second central issue which received great attention is that states participating in the European process should conclude a treaty on the nonuse of military force against one another or of threatening each other with it and that they undertake obligations to maintain peaceful relations.

These proposals are complemented logically by our idea of creating European nuclear weapon-free zones, of freezing and reducing military budgets, and of the further development, on the basis of the requirements of our days, of trust-building measures incorporated in the Helsinki Final Act.

[Kulcsar] What is the position of the NATO states?

[Varga] They propose narrow measures of a technical nature, which extend in peacetime to the advance of signaling of military movements and exercises and announcement of these, and they also stress the importance of control in various forms. It was an important development of the consultations taking place at the conference that recently eight European neutral and nonaligned countries also put forward their own security ideas and all of us paid significant attention to it and welcomed its appearance.

[Kulcsar] Are these compromise ideas?

[Varga] These are not compromise ideas; they are not intended as such. What is at issue here are concepts put together on the basis of the geographical, political, and security interests of these countries which consider that, in the course of the fulfillment of the mandate of the conference and of the working out of measures strengthening trust and security, it must be taken into account that there are political types of issues which have to be solved, there are military and limitation issues and there are issues relating to information and announcements. This document has attracted significant attention because study of it at a defined, later date can contribute to the progress of the work of the conference.

[Kulcsar] In your opinion, has the conference to date done more or less than expected of the first phase?

[Varga] I think that the account which can be made at the end of the first phase does approximately indicate that this phase was for the exposition of the stances of states and their clarification. This could be expected as necessary, and from this viewpoint, therefore, although the stances have not yet moved closer, the work and activity of the conference can be said to be successful and beneficial.

[Kulcsar] When will the conference resume its work?

[Varga] The conference will continue its work on 8 May. The 35 participating states will continue the activity with which they want to fulfill the fundamental task of the conference and its mandate, namely, to work out measures strengthening trust and security, measures which mutually complement one another and which can contribute to the reduction of the dangers of the present European situation, namely, that of military conflict. [end recording]

PROSPECTS AT VIENNA MBFR TALKS ASSESSED

Sundic: Effect on Geneva

LD171631 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Mar 84

[Text] Can the Vienna talks between the two military blocs on the reduction of troops in central Europe hasten the Soviet-American dialogue in Geneva on Euromissiles and the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons? Milika Sundic poses the question:

[Sundic] The renewal of the Vienna talks between the two military blocs on the reduction of troops in central Europe will be the first test of the mood of the East and of the West and of their readiness, in the present complicated international situation, to show whether expectations that during the coming months some kind of progress will be achieved in the area of relaxation of the military tension prevailing between the two opposing camps are realistic. The Vienna dialogue cannot be a substitute for the interrupted Soviet-American talks in Geneva on Euromissiles and on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, but it can contribute to the creation of conditions for reviewing all the possible consequences of an uncontrolled arms race in a peaceful and constructive manner.

During the previous round of Vienna talks, agreement in principle was achieved with regard to the troop numbers of the two blocs on both sides. However, on the question of verification, it transpired that the positions of the two blocs are far apart. The NATO countries will not desist from their demand that any agreement on troop reduction in central Europe must be preceded by confirmation of the current numbers, while the Warsaw Pact countries continue to adhere to their well-known stand that verification of facts should be left to the very end when all preparations for the agreement to come into force have been completed.

In the coming weeks and months, or however long the present round of Vienna talks last; the two blocs will continue to clash on this issue, since neither side has any confidence in how an eventual agreement on equal troop reductions in central Europe can be verified. The fear of being tricked is so deep-rooted that it will be a wonder if it can be overcome in the present round of talks.

Since the two superpowers have the main say at the Vienna talks, the world is watching closely to see whether their behavior indicates any change which could lead to a revival of the Geneva dialogue. The West would like this, and it is to be hoped that Moscow also feels this vacuum, although, at least for the time being, there is no sign of this on the Soviet side. However, if the Vienna talks lead to satisfactory progress, which is also uncertain, this would be a reliable signal that something is changing for the better in relations between the two superpowers.

It seems to us that the NATO countries will show somewhat more elasticity at the Vienna talks, though perhaps not immediately, than in the previous rounds. The East would be satisfied -- and this would not mean a major concession by the West -- if the NATO countries desisted from their demand that an agreement on troop reduction in central Europe must be preceded by confirmation of troop numbers on both sides. True, the West is more concerned at what could happen in case of a violation of the agreement on troop reductions, because its geostrategic position in Europe is less favorable, than about whether to make a concession to the other side with regard to prior confirmation of numbers of armed forces in central Europe. But if this problem is overcome, there would be greater chances of Moscow and Washington reviving the talks in Geneva.

This year is perhaps not advantageous for this because of the presidential elections in the United States, but no one ever expected that any significant progress could be reached in the Geneva talks before the end of 1984. Besides, as time goes by, Moscow realizes increasingly that it must get used to the presence of Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe, but the question is what does the United States have to do in order to convince the other side that there can be talks on Euromissiles now, just as before the deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe?

U.S. Actions Urged

LD170420 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 16 Mar 84

[From the "24 Hours" program; Colonel Jiri Soldal commentary on MBFR talks which reopened in Vienna on 16 March -- recorded]

[Text] The 32nd round of the talks on the reduction of the armed forces and arms in central Europe opened in Vienna today following a 3-month break. I believe that the very fact that the talks are continuing is to a certain degree encouraging; the fact that sitting jointly in Vienna at the negotiating table and not merely behind the operational desks controlling the armed systems aimed against each other are representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States and alongside them, on behalf of NATO, representatives of the German Federal Republic, Great Britain, Canada, Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg; and on behalf of the Warsaw Pact, representatives of Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and Poland. Other states also have their observers in Vienna.

The very fact that the talks have been resumed does not, however, by itself induce peace of mind. After all, the talks in Vienna have been going on for the past 10 years with no results achieved. Until now the talks have always failed because of the NATO demands for so-called asymmetric reduction, expressing a claim for one-sided military advantages. This stagnation has been caused by the West's attempts to sidetrack the talks into fruitless discussions about numbers, with an exaggerated assessment of the number of troops and arms of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces.

In an effort to put an end to this discussion that has lasted many years, the socialist countries proposed in June of last year that the talks should be based not on prior agreement on what each side possesses in central Europe at present but rather on what they should have after the reduction has been agreed upon, i.e., what the final strength would be in terms of the number of men and arms with balance maintained on both sides. This would eliminate conflicting assessments of the present numerical strength and create the same collective level. Specifically, this would mean an obligation to reduce within 3 years the strength of the armed forces to the level of 90,000 men on each side with each of the two sides itself calculating the extent of the reduction. The draft of the agreement naturally includes appropriate supervision as well as other measures in order to create a more favorable climate for future talks, e.g., that a certain portion of Soviet and American troops be withdrawn from central Europe on the basis of mutual example, as well as a provision under which the participating states would not increase the number of troops and arms in the area in question while the talks are in progress.

Lately, during the presidential campaign in the United States as well as on other occasions, a great many words about peace can be heard from Western governmental circles. The West has, however, not yet replied to the above-mentioned proposals, truly precious for peace. On the contrary, in the field of nuclear missiles and in the plans for raising the level of conventional wapons in Europe, in accordance with U.S. General Rogers' concept of the so-called air-land battle [last three words in English], feverish preparations are continuing to strengthen NATO arms with electronic arms systems possessing a new quality in terms of firepower and accuracy.

The question therefore arises with what kind of serious intentions NATO delegates have taken their seats at the table in Vienna; how will they reply to the ever topical, clear, and balanced proposals put forward by the socialist countries? The development of the 32nd round of the talks will reveal the truth. It will reveal how serious the Americans are in making their peace proclamations. For once they ought to conduct negotiations in accordance with their own saying: Actions speak louder than words [proverb in English followed by Czech translation].

CSSR Delegate

LD161842 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] After the first session of the 32nd round of talks on the reduction of troops and arms in central Europe, which opened in Vienna today, our special correspondent, Lubomir Sisak, asked the dputy head of the Czechoslovak delegation, Jozef Sestak, to characterize the course of the talks:

[Begin Sestak recording] The speech delivered today by a representative of the West, the head of the British delegation, Ambassador Simons, has regrettably confirmed once again that the NATO states are still not prepared to adopt a constructive approach and make an effort to bring about speedy progress. His speech was once again a typical example of how the West is skirting the main problems facing the talks in Vienna. It focusses, as during the previous rounds of talks, on peripheral and secondary issues.

I would like to give assurances that we shall not rest for a moment in our disarmament effort and shall continue to do our utmost, insofar as it depends on us, to achieve progress in Vienna in the end. At the same time we have in view, naturally, a broader objective than the area of Europe. This is because we want to make a concrete contribution in Vienna to that great joint endeavor of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union to restore health to the international situation, limit armament, and restore international cooperation. [end recording]

Polish Envoy

LD161024 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0545 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] The Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of forces and weapons in central Europe were stopped for exactly 3 months. Today, at last, they are to continue in the Austrian capital. Prior to the new round, correspondent Istvan Kulcsar held a telephone interview with Ambassador Stanislaw Przygodski, head of the Polish delegation and spokesman for the socialist delegations at the Vienna talks:

[Begin recording] [Kulcsar] Comrade Ambassador, since the last meeting on 15 December of last year, the Americans have begun the deployment of Pershing II missiles and robot aircraft in West Europe. Does this have an effect on the Vienna talks?

[Przygodzki in English with superimposed Hungarian translation] Deployment of the new medium-range missiles in the territory of several West European countries has contributed to deterioration of the international situation, to the worsening of the atmosphere. It is generally known that this measure made continuation of the Geneva talks dealing with nuclear arms limitation impossible. Apart from this, as we have said on many occasions, it also has a negative effect on other international exchanges of views, including the Vienna talks. I recall that these missiles are being deployed, in part, on the territory of NATO countries in the region where we plan a limitation of troops and weapons. This contradicts the fundamental goal of the Vienna talks, that is to say, that we should strengthen security in the region.

[Kulcsar] It is known how great the differences of opinion are at the Vienna talks, but have the sides managed to reach agreement on at least something?

[Przygodski] Yes, during the more than 10 years of the Vienna talks, we have reached agreement on many important issues, for example, that the main goal of this series of talks is to reduce the strength of the troops of the two sides to the same level, for the time being, to 900,000 each, and within this number, to land forces of 700,000 each. We have also agreed that the troop reduction must be started by the United States and the Soviet Union. We have also agreed on several other issues.

However, as you also mentioned, there are fundamental differences of opinion between us. The most important of these is the efforts of NATO countries to extort unilateral concessions from the Warsaw Pact countries and to divert the series of talks from its previously agreed course. NATO wants to change the balance of forces in the region under discussion, and it wants asymmetric troops limitation and arms reduction to the detriment of the Warsaw Pact.

In this context, they have also thrown in the so-called data problem, with which they groundlessly try to call into doubt the strength of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces in the region.

[Kulcsar] In the past year, the socialist countries submitted two comprehensive proposals in Vienna. Have they received a substantive answer to these?

[Przygodski] The proposals last year by the socialist countries were aimed partly at bridging precisely this so-called data problem. And they were aimed at starting, as soon as possible, on reducing the strenth of Soviet and American troops in central Europe. As well as this, they were aimed at speeding up the talks, and finding, as soon as possible, a common basis for the final goal -- genuine troop reductions to a determined level. To our greatest regret, although we tried to provide precise information to the smallest questions of detail, we did not receive an answer of substance from the Western powers, and they have given no sign of their real readiness for agreement.

[Kulcsar] What do you expect of the new round of the talks?

[Przygodski] The proposals of the socialist countries contain everything necessary for us to move out of deadlock, and so that we should reach a fair and sensible agreement without the security of anyone being damaged. This is a reasonable opportunity for us to achieve a break-through at the Vienna talks. We hope that the Western powers have made use of the break in the talks, which was longer than usual, to seriously review their stance and to give a constructive answer to our proposals. [end recording]

ZERI I POPULLIT: VALUELESS

AU171415 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 17 Mar 84

[Text] Tirana, March 17 (ATA) -- The resumption of the Vienna talks on the so-called troops and armaments reduction in central Europe, between U.S. imperialism and NATO on the one hand and Soviet social imperialism and the Warsaw Treaty on the other hand was accompanied by a special propaganda clamour by the two sides, ZERI I POPULLIT writes in its article. This was not fortuitous. The tree farces of the previous bargains between the military imperialist diplomacy of the two superpowers were interrupted in the end of the last year yielding no result.

The present talks are held after the deployment of new U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles, which are accompanied by special contingents of additional troops. The resumption of the bargains on the reduction of troops and arms in Europe precisely at this moment testifies to the fact that the United States of America and the Soviet Union know and accept the present quotas of armament and the number of their troops in the respective zone. The new argument provided in Vienna now to justify the continuation of the U.S.-Soviet farce is allegedly the readiness of both of them to allow controls on the armament reduction.

On this basis, with the beginning of the present talks, the mutual proposals too began.

The American and Soviet propaganda is advertising their proposals on the alleged control over the troops reduction.

The contribution of the new proposals of Washington and Moscow to the genuine disarmament and peace in our continent can be grasped when we bear in mind that following these reductions each side would have still 500 thousand troops in Europe, besides the contigent of the troops which they have sent together with the nuclear missiles.

The Vienna talks on "troops reduction" are valueless to the peoples, who do not believe in the Soviet-American manoeuvrings. What has happened and what is happening now with all the Soviet-American farces testify to the correctness of the analysis that the Party of Labour of Albania had always made with far-sightedness of the development of international situations. "Much is spoken, regional and international meetings are held, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, but what is their result? Nothing. On the contrary. The danger of a nuclear war is increasing and the capitalist-revisionist world is frenziedly being armed".

REPORTS ON ITALIAN GOVERNMENT, TRADE GROUP VISIT

Delegation Arrives

AU161438 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] A government and trade delegation of the Italian Republic led by Minister of Foreign Trade Nicola Capria arrived in our country today. The delegation was welcomed at the airport by Minister of Foreign Trade Shane Korbeci; Piro Bita, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affiars; and officials of the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Francesco Carlo Gentile, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Italian Republic to Albania, was also present.

Talks between the Albanian delegation led by Minister of Foreign Trade Shane Korbeci and the Italian delegation led by Minister of Foreign Trade Nicola Capria also commenced today. The two sides exchanged opinions on the further development of trade relations between the two countries. Minister of Foreign Trade Shane Korbeci hosted a lunch in honor of the Italian delegation.

Carcani-Capria Talks

AU161441 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] Today Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, received Italian Foreign Trade Minister Nicola Capria and had a friendly talk with him. On this occasion, Minister Capria delivered to Comrade Adil Carcani a message from Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi. Minister of Foreign Trade Shane Korbeci and Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs, were also present at the meeting. Francesco Carlo Gentile, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Italian Republic to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, also attended the meeting.

1984 Trade Protocol Signed

AU171955 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Mar 84

[Text] A trade protocol for 1984 was signed today in Tirana between the Governments of the Republic of Italy and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The document was signed on the Albanian side by Minister of Foreign Trade Shane Korbeci and on the Italian side by Minister of Foreign Trade Nicola Capria. The ceremony was attended by Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Pajtim Ajazi, deputy minister of foreign trade; and members of the two delegations. Francesco Carlo Gentile, ambassador extraordinary of the Republic of Italy to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, was also present.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania will export various minerals, marble blocks, textile and handicrafts products, foodstuffs, tobacco, and so forth, and will import metals, various kinds of steel tubing, insecticides and pesticides, synthetic fibers, machinery, equipment, and so forth.

The Italian Government trade delegation left our country today. It was seen off by Minister of Foreign Trade Shane Korbeci; Piro Bita, director of a directorate at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and officials of the Foreign Trade Ministry. Ambassador Francesco Carlo Gentile was also in attendance at the airport.

HOXHA GREETS SHOCK BRIGADE ON ANNIVERSARY

AU190922 Tirana ATA in English 0845 GMT 19 Mar 84

[Text] Tirana, March 19 (ATA) -- Yesterday at the rally organised in Ylush, Skrapar District, to mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of the 7th Shock Brigade, the member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party and Minister of Home Affairs Hekuran Isai read out Comrade Enver Hoxha's greeting addressed to the former effective of the 7th Shock Brigade, which says among the other things:

On occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding fo the 7th Shock Brigade, I greet you and wholeheartedly wish: Happy the celebration.

40 years ago, from the partisan units of the districts of Skrapar, Berat, Fier, Lushnja, and of the former circles of Gjiro Kaster and Korca, you came there, in Ylush, to found on the order of the General Staff of the National Liberation Army, the 7th Shock Brigade. All of you at that time were boys and girls tempered before in the heat of the national liberation war. The first political and military cadres, among them Comrade Ramiz Alia, one of the most distinguished political leaders of our Party of Labour and president of the Presdium of the People's Assembly, who, without completing 20 years old, became a member of the poltical sectionof your brigade and after several months political commissar of the 5th Division as well as Comrade Adil Carcani, who is also a beloved leader of the party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, was deputy commissar of your brigade and later on he became political commissar of the 4th Division, and many others who were leaders of battalions and companies, were all valiant sons and daughters of the party and people, tested in organising and leading the political, propaganda work and the militant actions.

Further on, the greeting stresses that the people of Skrapar who had caused the failure of the frenzied and repeated attacks of German-Ballists, the people of Ylush and Krushova, who had very fresh in their memory the 114 men, women, old people, and children cruelly murdered by the German Nazis, received with a great joy and enthusiasm the founding of the 7th Shock Brigade.

The 7th Brigade is one of themost glorious formations of our National Liberation Army. It undertook a series of militant actions in the circle of Berat, and just as many other units honorably carried out the mission changed by the General Staff to be on guard while the Permet Congress held its proceedings, liberated Berat and many other cities and dwelling cencers.

The bravery of the partisans of our brigades, who pursued the enemy even beyond our state borders, the blood of hundreds of martyrs from their ranks as well as the blood of 84 partisans of the 7th Shock Brigade, who laid down their lives in clashes with the Germans in Montenegro and Bosnia, in Bioce, and in the fortified heights of Suhagora, will always remain in our memory and in the hearts of the Albanian brothers of Kosovo, Montengro and of the peoples of Yugoslavia themselves.

This year, we are going to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland. All the victories achieved within these 4 decades have in the foundations the partisan heroism, which the Albanian people, led by the party, keeps alive and transmits to the younger generations.

The unity of the people round the party, steeled in the battles for the liberation of the homeland and the defence and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the realisation and overfulfillment of the economic plans, the courage and determination of our people to march on the road of socialism, have made the predatory aims of the numerous enemies, imperialists, revisionists, and every kind of ferocious reactionaries and chauvinists and their tools at home, fail always with shame. The all-round preparation of the peoples and the lofty vigilance fo the party and people make our socialist castle impregnable.

Alia, Carcani Mark Anniversary

AU171703 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 17 Mar 84

[Text] Berat and Skrapar Districts are in a festive atmosphere on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the formation of the Seventh Assault Brigade. Hundreds of people in the city of Corovode this morning welcomed with affection and respect former partisans of the Seventh Assault Brigade, including former cadres of this brigade like Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and Comrade Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers. Comrade Hekuran Isai, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of internal affairs, was also present, together with Comrade Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, and former cadres of the brigade.

A meeting was organized on this occasion, at which (Enver Nafta), chairman of the People's Council Executive Committee, welcomed the former partisans of the brigade. (Orhan) Frasheri greeted those present on behalf of former partisans. A wreath was laid at the martyrs' cemetery. The former partisans were lunch guests of the citizens of Corovode. Yesterday, the former partisans of this brigade were welcomed with respect and affection also by the citizens of the city of Berat. A rally was held in the city center, which was also attended by Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Centraal Committee secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Comrade Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member. Kristaq Kule, chairman of the People's Council Executive Committee of Berat City welcomed the former partisans. Myqerem Fuga greeted those present on behalf of the former partisans.

Tomorrow at 1000 a ceremony will be held in the village of Ylush, where the brigade was formed 40 years ago.

DEPUTY MINISTER GOTSEV VISITS THE NETHERLANDS

AU171417 Sofia BTA in English 2222 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] The Hague, March 16 (BTA) -- Here there were held political consultations between the delegations of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and the Netherlands. The Bulgarian delegation was led by Mr Lyuben Gotsev, deputy-minister of foreign affairs and the Dutch one - by Mr Yakobovic de Seged, director general on the political questions.

The heads of the two delegations stressed that the economic, political, and cultural relations between the two countries are good, and expressed readiness for them to continue to develop on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. They expressed concern over the aggravation of the international situation.

At the consultations there was expressed the two countries' wish for the Stockholm conference on security building measures and disarmament in Europe to end successfully with the adopting of real and efficient measures. The Bulgarian delegation explained our country's stand on the question related to creating a zone free of nuclear weapon in the Balkans. Both parties expressed satisfaction with the resumption of the negotiations in Vienna on reducing the armed forces and armament in central Europe.

Discussed was also the situation in the Middle East, the conflict between Iran and Iraq, the situation in Central America, in South Africa, in Southwest Asia, as well as other international matters.

The head of the Bulgarian delegation, Mr Lyuben Gotsev, was received by Mr Hans van den Broek, minister of foreign affairs of the Netherlands.

GOTSEV MEETS BELGIAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICIALS

AU172001 Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 17 Mar 84

[Text] Brussels, March 17 (BTA spec corr) -- In the Belgian capital there were held political consultations between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and Belgium. The Bulgarian delegation was led by Mr Lyuben Gotsev, deputy-minister of foreign affairs and the Belgian one -- by Mr Alfred Gahen, director general of the political management in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Discussed was the state and the prospects for the development of bilateral relations, as well as a number of topical international matters of mutual interest.

In the proceeding of the talks on the bilateral relations the countries found their good state in all spheres -- political, economic, and cultural. Expressed was readiness for their further development on the basis of equality and mutual advantage.

Discussing the international matters, the heads of the two delegations expressed their concern over the dangerous exacerbation of the international situation and the necessity of real and active measures to be taken by all states-participants in all-European process for reaching a turn in this dangerous development.

In connection with the Stockholm Conference on the Confidence and Security Building Measures and for Disarmament in Europe, both parties expressed wish for it to end successfully by adopting real and efficient measures on the topics discussed. Mr Lyuben Gotsev explained Bulgaria's stand on the establishment of zone free of nuclear weapon in the Balkans and the steps taken for the implementation of this idea.

Discussed were also other international matters -- the situation in the Middle East, in Central America, in South Africa, etc.

The head of the Bulgarian delegation was received by Mr Leo Tindemans, minister of foreign affairs of Belgium.

ECONOMIC SESSION WITH BRITISH DELEGATES CONTINUES

AU161418 Sofia BTA in English 1237 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] Sofia, March 16 (BTA) -- Bulgaro-British economic relations are developing successfully. This is a view expressed by the deputy minister of foreign trade of Bulgaria, Mr Georgi Pirinski and the assistant state secretary at the Ministry of Trade and Industry of Great Britain, Mr Peter Corley. Both think that under the conditions of the present international situation, the commercial and economic talks between states, as were held here between Mr Georgi Pirinski and Mr Peter Corley in the course of five days within the framework of the 12th session of Bulgaro-British economic commission, have a significance not for business circles alone, but in a wider sense as well.

It was stressed during the session that the chances for cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of the economy are far from exhausted. In this connection there were outlined concrete measures for their further activization in mechanical engineering, chemisty, the electronics industry, the food and tobacco industry and other branches. In addition to the traditional exchanges industrial cooperation was emphasized as one of the promising spheres.

The guest told journalists that the limitation of the Bulgarian exports to Great Britain is due mostly to the difficulties Albion is currently living through in certain sectors of the economy, amont which the light industry, where thousands of jobs were curtailed in recent years.

BTA DEFENDS PAPANDREOU AGAINST WESTERN ATTACKS

AU161515 Sofia BTA in English 1310 GMT 16 Mar 84

["Greece in the Distorting Mirror of the Western Propaganda" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 16 (BTA) -- "Who and why dislikes the policy of the Greek government?" is the headline under which the correspondent of the BTA in Athens comments on the hostile attitude of certain mass media in the West towards the government of Mr Papandreou.

The examples of this hostility are neither few nor recent, reads the dispatch from Athens. In February of 1983 THE WALL STREET JOURNAL wrote that more and more Greece is obeying the Soviet Union, while in November it firmly declared that with her conduct of a wicked child Greece was making everyone "question her affiliation to the West". The ultra right British magazine SPECTATOR took the liberty of calling the Greek Government "the biggest burglar since the time of Ali Baba", while THE NEW YORK TIMES accused the same government in having waged war to the private enterprise in Greece.

Very often the Western press resorts to personal attacks and slanders aimed at the prime minister, Andreas Papandreou, points out the BTA. Athens correspondent. Apparently seeking to question his independence and political talents, the American magazine TIME lied on November 14, 1983 that Mr Papandreou returned to Greece and started a political career after being recalled by his father, while the truth is that the invitation was made by Mr Konstandinos Karamanlis. The magazine NEWSWEEK published on December 12 a "joint" picture of the leaders of the EEC countries, cutting out the portrait of Papandreou, who at the time chaired the session of the Council of the Community.

A fresh example of the hostile attitude towards the government of Mr Andreas Papandreou was the recent broadcasting of the British Television, in which journalists from TIMES, GUARDIAN, OBSERVER levelled provocational questions towards the Greek prime minister described by him as "an expression of disrespect for the Greek people," stresses the correspondent of the BTA, B. Borisov.

The aim of this mass ill-intended propaganda campaign is evident, says Mr B. Borisov. It reflects the striving of certain reactionary circles to discredit the peace initiatives of the Greek Government and its efforts to conduct an independent foreign policy defending the national interests of the country. And it could hardly be expected of those who are deploying "Pershing" and "cruise" missiles in Western Europe to welcome the proposal of the government of Papandreou to postpone the deployment of these missiles or to approve his support for the idea of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans, says the commentary of the correspondent of the BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY in Athens.

LUKANOV RETURNS FROM POLAND, GDR 14 MARCH

AU171537 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Mar 84 p 6

[Text] Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, returned from the GDR last night where he visited the Leipzig Spring Fair. Prior to this, he had been in Warsaw to participate in the intersession conference of the chairmen of the Bulgarian-Polish Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation.

Andrey Lukanov was welcomed at Sofia airport by Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, by Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, and by other officials.

Egon Rommel, GDR ambassador to Bulgaria, and Mieczyslaw Karpiesiuk, Polish charge d'affaires ad interim to Bulgaria, were also present.

ZHIVKOV AWARDS CHAMPION ATHLETES IN SOFIA

AU161820 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov tonight met at the Boyana Residence the eminent Bulgarian athletes and trainers who won first place in world and European championships. The State Council has awarded them with the People's Republic of Bulgaria Order-First Degree, the Red Banner of Labor Order and the People's Order of Labor. Comrade Todor Zhivkov congratulated the awarded athletes and trainers. Vasil Etropolski, world fencing champion, replied to Zhivkov's congratulations.

ZHIVKOV VISITS PAINTER'S EXHIBITION IN SOFIA

AU171419 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 17 Mar 84

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, has visited the jubilee exhibition of the people's painter Dechko Uzunov opened at the gallery on Shipka Street No 6 in Sofia in connection with his 85th birthday. The exhibition reflects the painter's comprehensive creative path who has drawn his creativity, his intellectual youth, and his emotional approach toward life from the people's traditions.

Later, Todor Zhivkov had a talk with the great Bulgarian painter Dechko Uzunov. Comrade Georgi Yordanov and Svetlin Rusev, first deputy chairman of the Committee for Culture and chairman of the Bulgarian Painters Union, were also present.

ZHIVKOV, POLITBURO VISIT FASHION EXHIBITION

AU162018 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] The BCP Central Committee Politburo members today visited the Sofia exhibition organized by the Center for New Products and Fashion dedicated to the national party conference. Comrade Todor Zhivkov highly assessed the efforts of the Center for New Products and Fashion to elaborate and implement models and designs of high esthetic qualities. He also outlined the tasks for the future development of the center. He emphasized the need for the center to more closely link itself with the production enterprises and with the domestic market so that the building of new production trade projects in the okrug's centers will be speeded up.

ATANASOV IN STARA ZAGORA; NEW SECRETARY ELECTED

AU162022 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] A plenum of the Stara Zagora Okrug party committee has been held in Stara Zagora. The plenum, which was attended by Georgi Atanasov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, discussed organizational matters. Georgi Georgiev was released from his post as first secretary of the committee because of his transfer to another responsible job [first secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee, on 14 March]. Mincho Yovchev, former first secretary of the municipal party committee in Kazanluk, was elected first secretary of Stara Zagora Okrug party committee.

LEADERS ATTEND CEREMONIES, MEETINGS 11-17 MARCH

AU172049 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian, in its broadcasts from 11 to 17 March, notes the following appearances of Bulgarian leaders (time and date of broadcasts noted in parentheses):

Georgi Aleksandrov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, opened an exhibition in Sofia devoted to high quality products (1600 GMT 12 March).

Ognyan Doynov, Politburo member, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and minister of machine building and electronics, attended the signing ceremony of a cooperation agreement between the Bulgarian Industrial Association and various academic institutes in Sofia (1600 GMT 12 March).

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Committee for Culture, attended a celebration in Sofia in connection with the 80th birthday of writer Georgi Karaslavov (1600 GMT 12 March). Yordanov is also reported to have attended a conference in Sofia on problems of production quality (2030 GMT 16 March).

Yordan Yotov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, and Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a commemorative meeting in Rashkovo village, Sofia Okrug, which marked the date of the death of 12 Communists (1830 GMT 16 March).

Todor Bozhinov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of energy and material resources, attended a meeting at the Leonid Brezhnev combine in Kremikovtsi in connection with the modernization and reconstruction of the metallurgical combine (2030 GMT 16 March).

DATA RELEASED ON 1983 ENERGY PRODUCTION

AU191020 Sofia BTA in English 0824 GMT 19 Mar 84

[Text] The national policy in the sphere of power generation is based on the most full use of Bulgaria's own resources of energy. Last year's coal production amounted to 33 million 800 thousand [metric] tons. 80 per cent of these coals are lignite ones. Namely these low-calory coals are the basic energy resource on the basis of which one fifth of the electric energy in Bulgaria is obtained in the "Maritsa-Iztok" Mine and Energy Complex. The use of low-calory lignite coals in the generation of energy is possible in result of the unique technology for their burning out which has been worked out in this country.

The import of coals from the Soviet Union meets a considerable part of the demands in the generation of electricity and answers to all the requirements of the obtainance of coke. The obtainance of liquid fuels is insignificant. The imported quantities are ever more used in the chemical industry and in other fields. They are ever less used as liquid fuel.

Now some words about the water resources. Specialists have come to the conclusion that the existing water resources make it possible for 9-10 milliard kwh of electric energy to be generated every year. At present the water power stations generate 3 milliard kwh of electricity annually. Last year the atomic capacities gave 29 per cent of the electric energy generated in Bulgaria. This percentage is planned to amount to 44 up to 1990.

BRIEFS

ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH DPRK -- Sofia, March 8 (BTA) -- Today Mr Georgi Karamanev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the Bulgarian side of the Intergovernmental Consultative Commission on Economic and Techno-Scientific Matters Between Bulgaria and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, received Mr Chong Song-nam, the minister of foreign economic relations of the Korean People's Democratic Republic. Questions pertaining to the further extending of the two countries' economic cooperation were discussed. Special importance was attached to industrial cooperation in various spheres of the economy. Mutual desire to search for new possibilities for extending the relations was expressed. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1305 GMT 8 Mar 84 AU] Ognyan Doynov today received Chong Song-nam, DPRK minister of external economic affairs. Talks on the development and expansion of bilateral cooperation were discussed in a friendly atmosphere. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 8 Mar 84 AU]

TRADE WITH EFTA COUNTRIES -- Sofia, March 13 (BTA) -- Bulgaria's trade with the states of the European Free Trade Association [EFTA] reached 770 million dollars in 1983. EFTA's relative share in Bulgaria's foreign trade with the developed capitalist countries is 24 per cent. The trade with the states of this economic grouping is lower than that with the counties of the European Economic Community. Trading with Switzerland and Austria is the most developed. These two countries occupy the second and seventh place respectively in Bulgaria's trade with the industrialized capitalist states. Cooperation with Finland, Sweden, and Norway is also satisfactory. 72 per cent of Bulgaria's export to the EFTA states is earmarked for Switzerland, 18.4 per cent for Austria and 9.2 per cent for the Scandinavian countries. The Bulgarian deliveries consist mainly of raw materials of various origin, consumer goods, as well as machinery and equipment. On the import side the percentage is as follows: from Switzerland 37.7 per cent, from Austria 36.4, from the Scandinavian countries 24. The main purchase items for Bulgaria are machinery and equipment for the electrical engineering chemical, timber, and metallurgical industries, as well as some chemicals and metals which are usually in short supply. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0712 GMT 13 Mar 84 AU]

CHNOUPEK, SOVIET ENVOY DISCUSS COOPERATION

LD170038 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek received in Prague today Aleksandr Botvin, the Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia. In a cordial and comradely conversation they discussed some issues of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation and topical problems of international development.

USSR OFFICIAL CRITICIZES CSSR TRADE PRACTICES

AU161558 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Mar 84 p 2

["JCI"-signed report: "Meeting of Organizations of the Czechoslovak and Czechoslovak-Soviet Chambers of Commerce; Alpha and Omega of Our Advancement"]

[Text] Bratislava -- A meeting of organizations of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry and of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Chamber of Commerce was held in the House of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in Bratislava yesterday. The meeting was attended by Karol Martinka, member of the CPSL Central Committee and chairman of the Slovak Planning Commission; Rudolf Netik, head of a CPSL Central Committee department; Josef Major, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department; representatives of the USSR Embassy to the CSSR; and others.

On the meeting's agenda were problems pertaining to the results of the economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the CSSR and the USSR, and the further prospects for its expansion. In the opening report, Ladislav Vodrazka, CSSR first deputy minister of foreign trade, underscored the dynamism of this cooperation, attested to -- among other things -- also by the intensive growth of bilateral trade in the first 3 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. He also noted the existing shortcomings, however. Although there are not many of them, their consequences have a harmful effect on the development of cooperation. It is necessary to concentrate attention on eliminating them, observe delivery deadlines, adapt our suppliers' selection to the needs of customers, improve the deliveries of spare parts, prevent exports of faulty products, and systematically raise the quality of our production destined for export to the USSR, which is our largest foreign trade partner.

R.F. Piskopel, first deputy trade representative of the USSR Embassy in Prague, stressed that despite undeniable successes that have been achieved as regards expanding cooperation, it is necessary to systematically continue overcoming shortcomings, see to it that those that exist are rectified and not repeated. He praised by name several of our enterprises that are already traditionally fulfilling their deliveries on time and in good quality. He, however, criticized the fact that difficulties exist when it comes to deliveries of spare parts, and that in deliveries of consumer goods instances have occurred when a manufacturer delivered products different from samples that he submitted when concluding the contract.

Karol Martinka greeted the meeting on behalf of the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic and spoke about the share of the Slovak economy in the development of the Czechoslovak-Soviet economic and scientific-technical cooperation. He stressed that the development of this cooperation is the alpha and omega of our social and economic advancement. After a discussion, at the end of the meeting, a resolution was adopted. In accordance with the resolutions of the eighth and ninth sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, they pledge in the resolution to do everything in their sectors for the fulfillment of the tasks determined by the 16th CPCZ Congress.

SOVIET POLICIES UNDER CHERNENKO REVIEWED

AU161355 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Mar 84 p 6

[Karol Hederling Moscow dispatch: "Konstantin Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary: From Correct Theory Via All-Round Practice to Bold Acts"; passages in upper case published in boldface]

[Text] THE ELECTIONS TO BOTH CHAMBERS OF THE PARLIAMENT, TO THE TOP BODY OF STATE POWER -- THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR -- WHICH WERE HELD ON 4 MARCH 1984, WERE A POWERFUL DEMONSTRATION OF THE UNITY OF THE CPSU AND THE SOVIET PEOPLE. THE CANDIDATES OF THE BLOCK OF COMMUNISTS AND NONPARTY PEOPLE WERE VOTED FOR BY 99.94 PERCENT OF VOTERS. BUT THIS DECISIVE RESULT COMES AS NO SURPRISE. IT CORRESPONDS TO THE PERFECT ELECTION PREPARATION AND COURSE OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN. ACTUALLY, ALL THAT TIME THE VOTERS AND THE CANDIDATES WERE CONDUCTING A CREATIVE WORK DIALOGUE IN FRONT OF THE PUBLIC. IN THEIR STATEMENTS, THE COMRADES WHO WERE PROPOSED AS DEPUTIES EXPRESSED THEIR FULL SUPPORT FOR THE SOVIET UNION'S DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY, AS WELL AS THEIR OWN IDEAS ABOUT HOW THEY WOULD IMPLEMENT IT IN THEIR FUNCTION AS DEPUTY. THE VOTES GIVEN BY THE VOTERS TO THEIR CANDIDATES AT THE ELECTIONS THUS LOGICALLY EXPRESSED THE SOVIET PEOPLE'S LOYALTY TO THE COURSE OF THEIR COMMUNIST PARTY, A COURSE AIMED AT FURTHER DEVELOPING THE COUNTRY AND AT CONSOLIDATING ITS ECONOMIC AND DEFENSE STRENGTH.

It must be said that, BOTH IN FOREIGN, AND IN DOMESTIC POLICY, THIS COURSE REPRESENTS A CLEARCUT CONCEPT OF THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE SOVIET ECONOMY AND OF THE LONG-TERM PEACE PROGRAM. The election result has become the unequivocal expression of the people's will to support this policy of the Leninist party and of the Soviet state, and an ardent approval of the great and fruitful work of the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo. And there is yet another thing that this result shows: the ideological and sociopolitical unity of Soviet society, the immense strength of the fraternal comradeship among the nations and nationalities of the first country of socialism, and the strength of the firm union of workers, kolkhoz members, and the working intelligentsia.

IT IS ONLY UNDER SOCIALISM THAT POWER LIES IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE, AND SERVES THEM; IT IS ONLY SOCIALISM THAT ENSURES THE EQUAL CIVIC AND POLITICAL RIGHTS OF ALL PEOPLES. This is expressed, for instance, in the composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies. More than half of them are workers and kolkhoz members; about one-third are women; more than one-fourth are nonmembers of the party; and 22 percent are young people under 30 years old. The best of the best from all union republics, autonomous oblasts, and okrugs have become deputies of the supreme legislative body, among them also leading CPSU officials and officials of the Soviet state; outstanding organizers of industrial and agricultural production; prominent scientists, representatives of culture, veterans of the party and of labor, and members of Soviet Armed Forces. They bear the responsibility for adherence to the continuity of intentions and goals, but also for their creative elaboration and implementation in practice. It is on them that the fulfillment of the Food and Energy Programs and the implementation of the 26th CPSU Congress and CPSU Central Committee resolutions and of the resolutions of the latter's Politburo will depend.

At this year's February session of the CPSU Central Committee, as well as at this meeting with the voters of the Kuybyshev constituency in Moscow, Konstantin Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, analyzed the domestic and foreign-political situation and proceeded from the last few successful months: "WHAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED, IS MERELY THE BEGINNING OF A GREAT FEAT," he said in his preelection statement. "WE HAVE VERY MANY TASKS THAT CANNOT BE POSTPONED. WE CAN AND WE WILL PROCEED WITH GREATER SPEED. WE CAN AND WE WILL RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF THE INTENSIVE NATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WITH GREATER ENERGY. FOR IT IS ONLY THUS THAT WE CAN GRATIFY THE PEOPLE'S MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL NEEDS."

He stressed that the utilization of reserves in the national economy -- reserves that cost nothing, that are free, that are immediately at hand -- and the consolidation of order, organization, and discipline have an immediately economic effect.

However, Comrade Chernenko appeals for more -- FOR DEEP QUALITATIVE CHANGES IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY, for a rapid and smooth modernization of all branches of the national economy on the basis of the current knowledge of science and technology; for a flexible and efficient centralized management and planning that would bear in mind the solution of key issues and the development of creative economic initiative in economic branches, associations, and enterprises.

As shown by the experimenting plants and enterprises, the captains of Soviet industry and agriculture are enterprisingly developing production and fully implementing the socialist principle of distribution according to work; and the introduction of brigade khozraschet and of progressive work and remuneration methods is progressing. "IT IS NECESSARY TO OVERCOME RESOLUTELY ALL CONSERVATISM AND RIGIDITY," Comrade Chernenko says. "IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE THE SLOGAN OF THE DAY MUST BE: FROM CORRECT THEORY VIA ALL-ROUND PRACTICE TO BOLD ACTS!"

Correct steps were taken last year, so as to make it possible to implement these conclusions. The decisive step among them is the law on work collectives. It is this law that is meant to develop the working people's economic initiative. In plants and working places where it is being consistently implemented it is yielding an appropriate effect; above all in the working people's interest in its realization. The principle of socialist democracy gives Soviet man ample opportunity to express himself and definitely influence the text of the law under preparation.

The Central Committee and the Communist Party have set the goals and are helping the working people to make them their own; it is the working people who search for the best ways to accomplish the goals. However, this does not apply to the production process alone. It is known that the demands on cadre preparation increase with the growth of tasks. Toward the end of last year this issue was broached on principle by the CPSU Central Committee: The problems and prospects of the Soviet school system must be assessed. This issue leaves nobody indifferent. Before the USSR's Supreme Soviet adopts the law on the reform of general-educational and vocational schools, the all-popular discussion will have given it its final shape.

The main initiator of all the new that is inevitably pushing the entire Soviet society forward, is its Communist Party. As the core of the political system, it represents a mutual dialogue with the working people; it confronts their opinions with progressive reality, thus influencing the shaping of these opinions. Its influence as the leading force of the society is implemented in all spheres of life. The fact that the party organization has become the core of the working collective sets up a new cell, a new organism of the socialist society.

In accepting his deputy card, Comrade Chernenko gave assurance that he wanted to continue loyally serving the cause of the party and the people and the ideals of communism. At the meeting with the workers of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus he delivered an extensive speech, in which he again reverted to certain issues of economic development; but he did not ponder merely on the fulfillment and overfulfillment of planned tasks, he said that he considered the utilization of scientific-technical progress, the full use of production facilities, and the all-round strengthening of thrift the main reserve. However, the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary went even further and stressed:

"A PRIMARY SIGNIFICANCE IS ATTRIBUTED TO LONG-TERM ISSUES. THESE ALSO INCLUDE THE PREPARATION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN FOR THE TWELFTH 5-YEAR PLAN AND OF CONCEPTS UP TO THE YEAR 2000, AS WELL AS THE PERFECTION OF THE MANAGEMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY," which means the main development trends for more than 15 years in advance.

Even during his election speech Comrade Chernenko spoke of the great attention with which the party is following the peculiarities of the current period; of the sober way in which it is defining the level of the new society's socioeconomic maturity and defining the scientific foundations of its policy. An enormous role is played in this by the concept of advanced socialism, whereby the gradual transition to communism takes place precisely by fulfilling the tasks of its improvement. Comrade Chernenko stresses that the conclusions drawn by the CPSU make it possible "TO GET A CLEARER PICTURE OF OUR SOCIETY'S DEVELOPMENT IN ITS ENTIRE COMPLEX, CONTRADICTORY, AND MULTIFACETED NATURE. THEY HELP US TO PRACTICALLY ELIMINATE THE DISHARMONY THAT USED TO CROP UP FROM TIME TO TIME BETWEEN WORDS AND DEEDS, BETWEEN THE SOCIETY'S REALISTIC POSSIBILITIES AND UNFOUNDED PROGNOSES. IT IS EXACTLY FROM THIS VIEWPOINT THAT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE IS TODAY DOING EXTREMELY SIGNIFICANT WORK ON PREPARATION FOR THE NEW EDITION OF THE CPSU PROGRAM."

This program, too, will be dominated by the CPSU's Leninist peace policy; its program was worked out on the basis of the current international situation at the 26th CPSU Congress and further developed at the two subsequent congresses. It can be said that in the whole of the postwar period there has never been such a complicated international situation as the one created in the period following the ascension of the new Reagan administration in the United States. Leaving aside the hotbeds of international tension in the Middle East, Latin America, and Asia, the European Continent is today becoming the stage on which the American Pentagon wants to perform yet another "local" war, which would yield it immense profit. Such a policy by the United States and its satellites can merely bring the Soviet Union to two conclusions: first, that the defense and security of both its own country and its allies must be ensured, although the nations of the Soviet Union do not want to escalate the armament races; and, second, that efforts must be multiplied to carry out the policy of peace and international cooperation. In his statement to the voters, Konstantin Chernenko repeated the principles that are the basis of Soviet foreign policy: At present, its main goal is to avert a nuclear war and to consolidate international security.

This policy has also found implementation in the recently published proposal made by the Warsaw Pact states to the NATO states, namely to arrange talks on not increasing and on cutting down military expenditures.

The fate of peace and mankind is not at all indifferent to the Soviet Union, to its people, to its Communist Party. This is also articulated by the Soviet working people at the gatherings where they adopt socialist pledges in support of the current policy pursued by the CPSU and its Central Committee.

INTERIOR MINISTER RETURNS FROM VISIT TO PPR

AU161432 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Mar 84 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Vratislav Vajnar, CSSR minister of interior, returned this Wednesday [14 March] to Prague from his friendly working visit to the PPR. During his talks with Army General Czeslaw Kiszczak, minister of interior of the PPR, he assessed the possibilities for further deepening and coordinating cooperation between the interior ministries of the two countries.

LCY'S MARKOVIC CITED ON ECONOMIC TROUBLES

AU161431 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Mar 84 p 7

["(AR)"-signed Belgrade dispatch: "D. Markovic on the LCY's Tasks; To Strengthen the Party's Leading Role"]

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Mar -- This year, like last, will be a hard one for Yugoslav society. Our attention is concentrated on the battle for realizing the policy of economic stabilization. This was declared by Dragoslav Markovic, top party official -- chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at his meeting with foreign journalists in Belgrade [on 14 March].

He stated that different interests existed in the past -- and exist today -- in the Yugoslav multinational society, as well as disagreement with certain measures; and that the enforcement of every policy brings with it new problems and difficulties. We are aware, he said, that great political and social engagement is necessary for accomplishing the deep, substantial transformations in the economic sphere that are inevitable for overcoming the current difficult situation. In this context, he stated that the recent LCY Central Committee session directly underscored the necessity of the Communists' engagement for overcoming the difficulties in the implementation of the stabilization policy.

He called the need to strengthen the LCY's leading role the immediate topical task; another such task is the critical assessment of the operation of the Yugoslav society's political system, which would show which changes in the system are needed.

From D. Markovic's replies to the numerous questions about the results of the negotiations conducted by the Yugoslav side with the International Monetary Fund, it followed that Yugoslavia has not accepted the harsh conditions dictated to it by this institution as the prerequisite for further cooperation. According to Markovic, the Yugoslav side has submitted a compromise solution; this solution, too, is a difficult one for Yugoslavia, at the very limit that can be endured; however, Yugoslavia expects the agreement to be concluded. The controversial issues, for instance, were the rate of interest (this year it was to have increased to 60 percent), the method and amount of the dinar devaluation, and certain anti-inflation measures that are required.

In the part devoted to international policy, Comrade Markovic stressed that Yugoslavia supports all initiatives aimed at renewing international detente. He stated that Yugoslavia supports the proposals and efforts to make the Balkans and the Mediterranean areas peace zones without nuclear weapons.

GOODS EXCHANGE PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH AFGHANISTAN

LD161146 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] Talks with the delegation of the Afghan Ministry of Trade ended in Prague today with the signing a protocol for this year. Compared with last year, this year's goods exchange between the two countries will grow by approximately 20 percent. Czechoslovakia will supply Afghanistan with construction machinery and road building machinery, diesels, trucks, textile products, and footwear. We shall import from Afghanistan cotton, leather and skins, dried fruit, and other materials important for Czechoslovakia's processing industry.

HONECKER REPLIES TO ECUADOR PRESIDENT'S LETTER

LD170024 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1759 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] Berlin, 16 Mar (ADN) -- The GDR agrees with the nations of Latin America and the Caribbean that they have the inviolable right to go their own way in peace and freedom, without any kind of external interference in economic, social, and political concerns. This is stated in a letter which Erich Honecker, SED general secretary of GDR Council of State chairman, sent to Dr Osvaldo Hurtado, president of the Republic of Ecuador.

Dr Osvaldo Hurtado has informed Erich Honecker in a personal letter about the contents and concern of the Latin American economic summit of Quito of January 1984. This was in reply to a request made by the conference members to make the statement of Quito accessible to all heads of state and government.

The letter by Honecker states that the GDR shares the concerns about the growing interventionism in a number of regions of the Latin American subcontinent which is threatening peace and the sovereignty of the countries concerned in highly dangerous fashion. It is in favor of finding negotiated solutions to all conflicts. The GDR considers one encouraging example in this spirit the numerous efforts of the state of the Contadora Group and their results achieved so far.

The traditional friendly relations between the GDR and Ecuador are already following the spirit and concern of the Quito statement, it is stated. The GDR views the development of bilateral relations with Ecuador and other Latin American states as an important contribution toward the safeguarding and preservation of world peace.

SPD SPOKESMAN VOIGT DESCRIBES VOGEL VISIT

LD162359 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1422 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] Bonn, 16 Mar (ADN) -- In an interview with ADN's Bonn correspondent, Karsten Voigt, foreign policy spokesman of the SPD parliamentary party, has described the visit to Berlin by the chairman of the SPD parliamentary party, Hans-Jochen Vogel, and other leading SPD politicians and the talks with Erich Honecker as "all in all positive." A frank was held in which there were many points in common, in which each side was convinced of the sense of political responsibility of the other -- especially on questions of peace and disarmament -- and in which differing positions were put toward without adversely affecting the atmosphere. This atmosphere was relaxed and, if one could say so without being politically misunderstand, was also often personally cordial.

Above all there was agreement that today, in a difficult international period in which tensions between East and West have increased, it is necessary to introduce again a progressive turn to the better in East-West relations. Every opportunity, even the smallest, must be used for this in order to overcome the hardening which has come about. Detente, which came into being in the 1970's, must not suffer any lasting harm. On the contrary, the basic treaties for relations between the GDR and the Federal Republic which came about at that time must be fleshed out even further, and further concrete agreements elaborated on their basis.

Voigt said that Hans-Jochen Vogel was right to say that agreement extended to motivation on both sides.

The essential motive of both delegations in the talks was that Germany bears the main responsibility for two world wars and therefore both German states have a strong obligation to the neighboring peoples, too, that there should not be a new war. In other words, war must never again emanate from German soil.

Both German states must, while remaining loyal to their alliance systems, make a determined contribution to reducing the threat of war in Europe. In this way the community of responsibility between the GDR and the Federal Republic serves European peace. As the talks between Erich Honecker and Hans-Jochen Vogel showed, in this connection a number of concrete tasks are now emerging; among them is the subject of chemical weapons. It was agreed to continue the talks on this in a suitable way in order to achieve a worldwide ban on chemical weapons or at least to achieve a Europe free of chemical weapons.

The representatives of the GDR party and state leadership and of the SED parliamentary party also agreed in their positive assessment of the Palme proposal for a nuclear-weapon-free zone between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Here, too, because of the geographical situation and history, the two German states have a special responsibility.

In relations between the two states there is mutual interest in an early cultural agreement, in a science agreement, and in agreements concerning environmental pollution. However, the Federal Republic should take the initiative concerning a number of steps long overdue. Thus, the existence of the Central Register in Salzgitter doubtless did not correspond to the present good state of relations between the states. Therefore it should be abolished. As far as the question of citizenship is concerned the personal jurisdiction of the GDR, as a state recognized by the Federal Republic over her citizens would have to be respected. Finally, it is important to find a basis for agreement on the Elbe frontier. This frontier is also the frontier between NATO and Warsaw Pact. Therefore it is important, also in the interest of the safeguarding of peace, that there be no uncertainty on the course of the frontier at this border.

The time for starting official relations between the People's Chamber and the Bundestag is today more topical than ever, Voigt emphasized. The recent visit by an SPD Bundestag Group delegation to the People's Chamber confirmed that such relations are useful and that there are no reasons whatever to delay the start of such relations.

Meetings of the kind that took place between Hans-Jochen Vogel and his entourage in Berlin with Erich Honecker should, in the view of Karsten Voigt, definitely be continued. Following the cordial reception in Berlin, Voigt said in conclusion, the SPD politicians involved would like to welcome leading GDR representatives in Bonn sometimes soon.

DKP STATEMENT ON BUNDESTAG INTRA-GERMAN DEBATE

LD162253 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1328 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] Duesseldorf, 16 Mar (ADN) -- The Presidium of the DKP (German Communist Party) Executive Committee has issued the following statement on the latest FRG Bundestag debate:

Significant signals were set for the further development of relations between the two German states in the recent talks of Erich Honecker, GDR Council of State chairman and general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and politicians of the Federal Republic, both government and opposition. It was shown that it is quite possible to achieve progress in relations between the two German states for peaceful cooperation, economic cooperation, and humanitarian measures, provided the policy toward the GDR is based on common sense, a sense of responsibility, and of realism.

Apart from some nice rhetoric about the community of responsibility of the two German states for the safeguarding of peace in the heart of Europe -- which are welcome -- what the federal chancellor said in the Bundestag concerning the intentions and objectives of the government's policy, the relations between the Federal Republic and the GDR, was not characterized by this requisite sense of reality and responsibility. Rather, it was characterized to a large extent by the unrealistic adherence to the Greater German positions, foundered long since due to a crass interference in the GDR's internal affairs, to the disregard of the sovereign rights and the integrity of the socialist German state. Many of his remarks were in contrast to the treaty system with the GDR and the other socialist states, as well as the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Helsinki.

They were marked by anticommunist foolishness, by chumminess with the Reagan administration and its confrontation policy, by the subordination of the national and vital interests of the Federal Republic's citizens to the policy of the aggressive NATO bloc. Regrettably, the chancellor was able to refer in this to a joint statement of the Bundestag which had been endorsed by the government parties and the SPD Group.

The Greater Germany power dreams, once again evoked, the stereotype references to an allegedly "open German question," to the "unity of the nation" -- that is, to relics from the Adenauer era long outmoded -- are least of all calculated to make a contribution toward limiting the damage caused by the deployment of U.S. attack and first-strike weapons in the Federal Republic, to counter a further strain in the relations between the two German states, or to promote the further normalization of relations.

We Communists of the Federal Republic welcome the fact that, in the present sharpened international situation, the GDR party and state leadership, Erich Honecker, chairman of the Council of State and general secretary of the SED Central Committee, are doing everything possible, through their constructive policy aimed at dialogue and cooperation, to counter the danger of war which looms once again. The GDR is making effective contributions to ensure that the damage caused to the European treaty system and the relations between the two German states by the siting of U.S. nuclear missiles does not increase but is limited as much as possible. To this end serve her initiatives for peace and security, for the development of mutually beneficial trade, her measures for familiy reunification and in the humanitarian sector.

We Communists also welcome that spokesmen for the two opposition parties in the Bundestag, SPD spokesmen and spokesmen for the Greens, brought out the contradictions of the policy of the Federal Government in relations with the GDR. However, we very much regret that even the remarks made by these spokesmen were not free of anticommunism, anti-Sovietism, or nationalist fiction. This does not benefit but hinders the further understanding between the two German states and the dialogue of the political and social forces on both sides.

It could only benefit the Federal Republic and her citizens if all political and social forces of the Federal Republic were to be guided by the recognition that there is no sensible alternative to peaceful coexistence. The GDR is a sovereign, stable, socialist state, with a dynamic economic development, with growing international respect, which enjovs great authority as a consistent force of peace.

Adherence to the failed positions from the period of the cold war, revanchist slogans, questioning the postwar frontiers, interference in the GDR's internal affairs, support for the United States' confrontation and arms-drive course all violate the national and vital interests of the Federal Republic and her citizens. What is required is common sense, a sense of responsibility and realism. As hitherto, the DKP will continue to work for such a policy.

AXEN, BELGIAN ACW LEADER DISCUSS PEACE MOVES

LD161853 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1406 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] Berlin, 16 Mar (ADN) -- Faced with the sharpened international situation, the political dialogue between Christians, communists, socialists, liberals, and all forces interested in averting the war danger is of great importance for creating a broad coalition of common sense, peace, and security in Europe. This was agreed by Hermann Axen, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the GDR People's Chamber, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Frans Janssens, general secretary of the Flemish Christian Workers' Party [ACW], during a talk in Berlin. Frans Janssens is heading an ACW delegation which is in the GDR at the invitation of the CDU main executive.

The two politicians emphasized that restraining the nuclear arms race, limiting and reducing nuclear armaments in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security, safeguarding the policy of detente instead of engaging in confrontation are the most urgent problems of today.

The two sides expressed their expectation that the Stockholm conference as well as the resumption of the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of troops and armaments in Europe will have a positive effect on peaceful, thriving relations between the European states.

Hermann Axen briefed his Belgian guests on the fundamental concern of GDR policy -- namely, to balk at no efforts that might prevent a nuclear catastrophe and or safeguard world peace.

Frans Janssens explained the extensive activities of the ACW in the broad movement for peace and halting nuclear arms escalation, and especially for the prevention of the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Belgium.

STOPH HOLDS TALKS WITH EGYPTIAN MINISTER

LD162322 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1527 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] Berlin, 16 Mar (ADN) -- Concern for the further deterioration of the international climate was expressed by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Dr Wajih Muhammad Shindi, Egyptian minister for international investments and cooperation, during an exchange of views today.

It was agreed that increased efforts were required to secure peace and international cooperation on an equal footing. Willi Stoph emphasized that the GDR, together with its allies and all forces of good will, was doing everything to ensure that international affairs returned to a sound, predictable course. He expressed support for the justified calls to end all U.S. military activities and to implement the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people in order to relax the Middle East situation.

The two sides affirmed their interest in the continuation and development of overall and mutually beneficial relations between the two states. Remarking on the traditional relations over many years, they noted that good preconditions existed, especially in industry and trade. Important contributions were the conclusion of new economic agreements and the setting up of a joint committee for economic, industrial and scientific-technological cooperation.

CONSULAR AGREEMENT WITH BELGIUM RATIFIED

LD162338 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1506 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] Berlin, 16 Mar (ADN) -- GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and Dr Robert Ch. P.A. Six, the Belgian ambassador to the GDR, exchanged today in Berlin the instruments of ratification concerning the consular agreement between the GDR and Belgium.

Oskar Fischer took the opportunity to praise the good state of relations and refer to the great scope of their development. Dr Robert Six said that he too would contribute actively toward the development of these relations. The two politicians said that the conclusion of the agreement was a further step in shaping the cooperation between the two states in the spirit of the preservation of peace and the revival of the process of detente. The agreement will come into force on 15 April 1984.

HONECKER GREETS ISRAELI COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER

AU161114 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- The SED Central Committee has sent the following greetings message signed by its general secretary, Erich Honecker, to Me'ir Vilner, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel:

Dear Comrade Vilner, on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the party of the Israeli Communists I convey to you the most cordial congratulations of the SED Central Committee.

During the 6 and 1/2 decades since its foundation, the Communist Party of Israel has constantly stood its test in the political storms of the Middle East thanks to its loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. We most respectfully praise the courageous and untiring struggle of the Communists of Israel for the interests of the working people of all parts of the population of the country, for democracy, and social progress. The Israeli Communists consistently oppose the aggression and domination policy of the United States and its Israeli allies in the Middle East. They are for a just Israeli-Palestinian peace as core of a comprehensive and permanent solution of the Middle East conflict in accordance with the peace program adopted at their 19th Congress in 1981. Thus the Communist Party of Israel is at the same time making a contribution to the worldwide struggle to reduce international tensions, reject the confrontation course of the most aggressive imperialist forces, and preserve world peace.

In firm solidarity the SED wishes the Israeli Communists new successes in their just struggle for our common cause.

MITTAG TOASTS USSR DELEGATION TO TRADE FAIR

LD170028 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1603 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] Berlin, 16 Mar (ADN) -- "We fully agree with the policy of the Soviet Union for safeguarding of peace and the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe," Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretariat of the SED Central Committee, said in his toast during a dinner given in Berlin today by Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR, in honor of the Soviet Government delegation to the Leipzig fair.

Guenter Mittag said: "We wholeheartedly support the fundamental proposals made in great statesmanlike responsibility by Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. This applies especially to those important ideas that relations between the nuclear powers must be subject to certain norms. This is required by the vital interests of the whole of mankind. This is required by the responsibility of the leading statesmen toward the current and next generations. These proposals by the Soviet Union deserve the greatest attention, and it would be of the greatest importance for all the peoples if these norms on relatinos between the nuclear powers were to be mutually recognized and given binding character."

The safeguarding of peace would have to be linked directly with the fight for disarmament, the fight for increasing international security.

Guenter Mittag pointed out that a great political dialogue with states of differing social orders had been conducted during the fair. In this, the GDR had proceeded from its position of doing everything to safeguard peace. Recently those proposals had been specially emphasized contributing toward the safeguarding of peace and the reduction of the danger of a nuclear catastrophe.

Important economic agreements had been concluded at the fair in order to expand overall relations between the GDR and USSR. The decisive basis for this was the friendship treaty between the GDR and USSR. This cooperation was also important, Mittag said, in order to turn the 35th year of the GDR into the year with the most important achievements in the history of the GDR people. All this served the strengthening of socialism. In this way the economic strategy would be implemented further over the next few years.

Earlier Ambassador Kochemasov had emphasized in his toast that the fair was a good occasion to take stock of the cooperation between the two fraternal states beyond that framework. The Leipzig fair could therefore be rightly called an event of great international importance. It was a fact that it was a good way to direct relations of states with differing social orders into normal channels. The USSR advocated trade without political and economic discrimination, trade on the basis of mutual benefit.

Boris Balmont, the head of the Soviet Government delegation and minister of machine tools and toolmaking industry, gave thanks for the invitation and for the opportunity of getting to know the achievements of GDR industrial enterprises. The fair, at which the latest scientific and technological discoveries from all over the world and numerous applications of microelectronics and robotics were demonstrated, had made a big impression. The outstanding exhibition of the hosts reflected in particular the successes achieved by the GDR workers under the leadership of the SED.

CSSR DELEGATION ARRIVES FOR SPRING FAIR

AU161103 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] Leipzig (ADN) -- On Wednesday Milos Jakes, member of the presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Josef Kempny, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Czech National Council, arrived in Leipzig to visit the Leipzig Spring Fair. They were cordially welcomed by Guenter Mittag, member of the Poltiburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

GUYANA DISCUSSES ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN LEIPZIG

FL151242 Georgetown Guyana Domestic Service in English 1000 GMT 15 Mar 84

[Text] Officials of the Guyana Government and the Government of the German Democratic Republic have been discussing economic relations at Leipzig, where Guyana is participating in a trade fair.

Guyana's health minister, Dr Richard Van West-Charles, held discussions with the foreign trade minister, Horst Soelle. The discussion centered on supplies of equipment to Guyana's health services and other forms of economic cooperation. Guyana's ambassador to the GDR, Comrade Phillip Chan, was also present at the talks.

GERSTNER VIEWS MICROELECTRONICS INDUSTRY ADVANCES

DW190839 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 18 Mar 84

[Dr Karl-Heinz Gerstner Sunday economic review]

[Excerpt] We have made decisive progress in the field of microelectronics. The Leipzig fair has proved this. The founding of the Erfurt Microelectronics Combine in 1978 constituted the basis of a rapid development of microelectronics in the GDR. Whereas the production of electronic components was worth M575 million in the combine's first year, it amounted to M1.7 billion last year, according to director-general Dr Heinz Wedler. Within 6 years the production tripled.

The production of microprocessors rose from 2,200 units in 1978 to 135,000 microprocessors today. Whereas at the time we had 247 types of electronic components, we have 1,068 today. Almost all types of use in our economy can be covered today. Every year we transfer 60-80 integrated circuits into production. In this decisive field of the technological revolution progress is being advanced with utmost concentration and consistency.

However, the international development of microelectronics is so dynamic that we must accelerate our pace. This year the microelectronics combine has planned to increase its goods production by 20 percent and labor productivity by 19 percent. Dear listeners, it is easy to talk about these enormous growth rates. However, what is behind them is the creation in past years of a new intellectual and material-technical potential of an entirely new industrial branch. Within a few years tens of thousands of skilled workers, engineers, and scientists have prepared themselves for the intellectual challenge posed by microelectronics. A far-reaching process of learning and qualification is going on here which thousands of microelectronics experts have been undergoing with enthusiasm.

In this field the GDR cooperates very closely with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, in particular the CSSR and Hungary. At the Leipzig fair contracts were concluded on the importation of electronic components from the Soviet Union. Agreements were also concluded with the CSSR on mutual large supplies of electronic components. This division of labor in the scope of CEMA allows us to make more rapid progress in the field of microelectronics. Concretely, it enables us to more rapidly introduce top technologies in our industry and to produce many consumer goods that are equipped with microelectronics.

BRIEFS

COOPERATION WITH FRG FIRMS -- On Monday [12 March] in Leipzig long-term agreements on rolling out slabs of the new converter steel plant of the Herman Matern VEB Strip Steel Combine in Eisenhuettenstadt into hot-rolled-strip to the value of 300 million clearing units was signed between the foreign and domestic trade enterprise matallurgical trade and the FRG firms Peine-Salzbitter Corporation and Hoesch Corporation. Present were Hugo Meiser, deputy minister for ore mining, metallurgy, and potash; Ernst Peiper, chairman of the managing board of the Salzbitter Corporation; and Detlef-Karsten Rohwedder, chairman of the board of directors of the Hoesch Corporation. [Text] [East BERLIN NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Mar 84 p 1 AU]

EDUCATIONAL COOPERATION WITH DRA -- Berlin 13 Mar (ADN) -- A protocol on continuing cooperation in the educational field between the GDR and Afghanistan provides for the exchange of delegations, the training of cadres and other measures. The document was signed on Tuesday in Berlin by the competent ministers, Dr Margot Honecker and 'Abdol Samad Qayyumi. During the morning, the Afghan guest was received by the president of the GDR Academy of Pedagogic Sciences, Prof Dr Gerhart Neuner. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1521 GMT 13 Mar 84 LD]

CONTRACTS CONCLUDED IN LEIPZIG -- The GDR again concluded contracts with the Soviet Union at the Leipzig fair today to a total value of hundreds of millions of rubles and also did business with numerous firms from other countries. The GDR is taking part in the exploitation of Soviet raw material resources through the export of mineral oil processing plant and other equipment. The two countries also agreed to wide-ranging trade in word-processing and computer technology. All-purpose excavators were sold to France and Belgium. Medical and laboratory technology was sold to Yugoslavia, Cuba and Egypt. The CSSR, Hungary and India bought potash fertilizer. The GDR will import agricultural products from Austria. [Text] [East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 14 Mar 84 LD]

AMBASSADOR TO BRAZIL -- Dr Werner Haenold, GDR ambassador to the Federative Republic of Brazil, presented his credentials to Joao Baptista de Oliveira Figueiredo, president of the Federative Republic of Brazil on 13 March. In the subsequent talk the Brazilian president stressed his country's interests in continuing and deepening relations with the GDR particularly in the economic and cultural fields. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Mar 84 p 2 AU]

PROTOCOL WITH PDRY -- On 14 March Horst Soelle, GDR foreign trade minister, and Ahmad al-Fadli 'Ubayd, PDRY [People's Democratic Republic of Yemen] minister of trade and supplies, signed a protocol on the commodity exchange between the two countries for 1984 in the presence of Qasim 'Abd ar-Rabbuh Salih, the PDRY ambassador to the GDR. Ahmad al-Fadli conducted talks at the Leipzig fair with Felix Meier, minister of electrical engineering and electronics; Rolf Kersten, minister of heavy machinery and installation construction; Wolfgang Junker, minister of construction; Gerhard Briksa, minister of trade and supply; Claus Kuehnel, state secretary in the Ministry of Light Industry; and with Claus Gaedt, deputy minister of foreign trade. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Mar 84 p 3 AU]

HORVATH-LED DELEGATION RETURNS FROM IRAQ

LD161131 Budapest MTI in English 1036 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] Budapest, March 16 (MTI) -- The delegation of the Hungarian Ministry of Home Affairs, which had paid an official visit to the Republic of Iraq under the leadership of Minister Istvan Horvath and on the invitation of Minister of the Interior Sa'dun Shakir Mahmud returned to Budapest Friday. The delegation held talks in the Iraqi Ministry of the Interior, and Istvan Horvath met Taha Yasin Ramadan, deputy prime minister, and Hasan 'Ali al-Amir, minister of trade.

FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER ON ECONOMIC PROSPECTS

LD172216 Budapest MTI in English 1711 GMT 17 Mar 84

[Text] Budapest, March 17 (MTI) -- "The Hungarian economy runs a race with swiftly changing circumstances in order to maintain the possibility of choice", stated Hungarian Foreign Trade Minister Peter Veress in the Saturday issue of NEPSZABADSAG.

On the problems of Hungarian foreign trade, the minister stated that unfavourable processes had taken place in the Hungarian economy over the past five years. Increasing import costs were added to the severe export losses caused by low efficiency of production. In addition, the burdens of loans designed to guarantee temporary balance hindered development.

It is necessary to take into consideration that there will be difficulties in selling Hungarian goods not only on capitalist markets but also on others. For example, the Soviet market will also be stricter than before. Last year some light industrial products did not meet requirements guaranteed in agreements.

"The strengthening of the socialist integration is our vital interest, and enterprises taking part in it by direct cooperation will bear greater tasks", stressed the minister. He pointed out that deteriorating market conditions and increasing export requirements demand more active foreign trade work, as well as a more flexible organization of the ministry.

The minister stressed that both production and foreign trade activity should support each other. "If we want to preserve our terms of trade, we have to accelerate technical-technological progress."

On recent achievements and targets ahead, on the relation of assets, Peter Veress stated:

"Our last year's assets have created positive response among our partners. Confidence toward us has increased and we wish to take the advantage of it this year.

"Positive balance is linked with the further development of guidelines. Our basic target is to make regulations clear and that they influence enterprises in the decision making process on the development of export. We try to work out an active price policy the prime function of which is to represent cost and price relations on the world market, thereby to orient Hungarian foreign trade towards efficiency. Arbitrarily low price levels hinder this import endeavour."

MAGYAR HIRLAP ON ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH GDR

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[Text] Budapest, March 17 (MTI) -- As reported, Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic, will soon pay an official friendly visit to Hungary. Prior to the prime ministerial talks, the Saturday issue of MAGYAR HIRLAP analyses Hungarian-GDR economic relations.

The daily states that traditionally good, steadily developing economic relations, on the basis of reciprocal advantages, have developed between the two countries over the past decades. Despite world economic recession, bilateral trade turnover increased by seven to eight per cent, amounting to 1,700 million roubles, last year. The composition of bilateral trade is favourable and corresponds to international tendencies. Both countries deliver modern technology, which improves technical standard and is indispensable for permanent revival. Production cooperation and specialization is also successful. It seems that both countries' economic units have recognized the possibilities in close relations. The great number of cooperation agreements and activity indicate it. The number of state-level joint development and closer cooperation programmes also increase.

The two countries' economic relations are coordinated by the Hungarian-GDR Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation Committee. The committee coordinates the most important targets and the possibilities of the development of reciprocally advantageous relations. Between 1981-1985 trade turnover is xpected to surpass 8,000 million roubles, and the coordination of 1986-1990 plans are under way. Turnover is expected to increase, while its measure and areas of prior importance have not been decided yet. Electronics will be one of the decisive factors in Hungarian-GDR relations to a greater extent than ever before. Chemical industrial relations are expected to increase as well as cooperation in the pharmaceutical industry. Engineering will keep its decisive role in economic relations, and its proportion will probably increase. (The proportion of machines and equipment in bilateral trade amounts to 60 percent. Thereby international division of labour has achieved a high level in engineering.) The traditionally good and dynamically developing economic relations of the two countries will remain stable, stresses MAGYAR HIRLAP.

ISTVAN SARLOS ON MEDIUM-TERM RESEARCH PLAN

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[Text] Budapest, March 16 (MTI) -- Istvan Sarlos, member of the HSWP Political Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, gave an interview to MTI on the implementation of the first national medium-term research and development plan. He stated "in recent years research priorities have been chosen with more circumspection, and adaptation to changes has accelerated". "We plan to place an emphasis on such fields of research as biotechnology, microelectronics, computer technology. As to social sciences, the study of economic policy and social structure will be priorities." Istvan Sarlos stated that a new institutional network is to be established "which will be more open, and capable of flexible adaptation."

The deputy premier stated "several comprehensive programmes are aimed at promoting our further socialist development, and increasing the economic load-bearing capacity. Research is made on further development and the organizational structure of economy, and on world economic effects influencing the country. Research on social structure, the way of living, the content and structure of values, socialist, national and minorities' awareness, the practice of theory of social-welfare policy, demographic policy, and youth policy, and the relevant proposals outline the theory and institutional system of a reformist social policy. Research on public education, the educational system, access to culture, public administration, and regional development are aimed at increasing our social adaptation capability."

PZPR NATIONAL DELEGATES CONFERENCE HELD

Jaruzelski Opening Speech

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[Opening speech by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the 16 March PZPR National Delegates Conference at Congress Hall in Warsaw -- live]

[Text] Esteemed comrade delegates, esteemed guests: I hereby open the PZPR National Delegates Conference. On behalf of the Central Committee, I sincerely welcome you, comrade delegates.

I cordially welcome the representatives of the highest state authorities: Comrade Professor Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State, outstanding figure in the workers' movement, delegate to our conference [applause] and Comrade Stanislaw Gucwa, speaker of the PPR Sejm, veteran figure of the people's movement. [applause]

I welcome the representatives of allied political parties: the ZSL, with Roman Malinowski, chairman of the Supreme Committee, [applause] and the SD, with Professor Edward Kowalczyk, chairman of the Central Committee [applause]; I welcome Jan Dobraczynski, Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] National Council chairman. I welcome particularly cordially the representatives of veterans of battle and labor, outstanding figures in the workers' movement, former servicemen who fought for national and social liberation, representatives of scientists and cultural workers. [applause]

I welcome the representatives of the trade unions, youth, women's, public, and scientific-technical representatives. I welcome all who are present. [applause]

Comrade delegates, esteemed guests, since the ninth congress, death has claimed from our ranks many comrades, veterans, and outstanding figures in our party and in the parties that preceded it: the Communist Party of Poland, the Polish Workers' Party, and the Polish Socialist Party, and among them, the cofounder and leader of the PPR and the PZPR, Wladyslaw Gomulka. Let us mark their memory with a moment of silence.

Comrades, delegates, in the spring of 1981 we received the party mandate of confidence. Since the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress was debated in this hall, 33 months have passed. Then, in heated discussion, filled with engagement and responsibility, we worked out the line of socialist renewal, the line of accord, struggle and socialist reforms. We defined methods of their implementation.

In retrospect, we can say that in the election of delegates, in preparatory work, and in the course of the debate of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, the authentic beliefs and feelings of the whole party were manifested in the most direct way. They determined the basic essence of the resolutions and decisions of the congress. They were well received by the working class, by the working people, because they arose from those people's experiences and aspirations.

The ninth congress derived its strength from class and patriotic sources. It enlivened the party in its struggle with internal and external adversaries, in the struggle for socialist renewal. By the course and achievements, the congress proved and strengthened the faith in ideas of socialism, in the possibility of their realization on the basis of the program and policy of our party.

During the debate, the National Conference was born after searching for the best methods of leading the party, observing Leninist norms in its internal activity, and examining solutions to prevent the repeat of a crisis situation. The days which have passed since the end of the ninth congress were marked by self-sacrificing work enlivened by the faith in rightness of the chosen way.

This is also a time of struggle, the best test for opinions and attitudes. We can state with satisfaction that a proper choice has been made, and proper people have been elected as delegates to the Ninth Congress: about 95 percent of the delegates successfully underwent this historical trial. At the ninth congress, we stated that Poland will be what the party will be. Aware of this connection and of the resulting responsibility, we must analyze during our conference the experience we have accumulated. We must also analyze the existing threats and opportunities. We must take a good, hard look at the existing political problems, as well as ideological and economic problems. We must define the tasks we face in these areas and determine the extent to which it is possible to fulfill them.

The National Conference of Delegates is a proper and timely forum for a businesslike and realistic appraisal, for critical and self-critical analysis of the party's activities and the party's condition, its current and long-term needs and potential. We ought to confirm the fact that our party is open to reality. It is closely linked with the daily life of the workers and the working people whom our party leads and serves. That is why the Central Committee expects from those who have compiled the program for the Ninth Congress that they will not only give a solid appraisal of its implementation, but that there also will be new incentives for further activities, for the good of the cause of workers and peasants, for the good of socialist Poland.

The work of the National Conference of Delegates will make our road to the future more concrete. The draft program and ideological declaration "What are we fighting for, where are we going" contains its long-term projections, which can also be found in the discussion materials devoted to our party's program. Let the experience of the recent period and the awareness of today's realities and the multi-faceted requirements of the future accompany the proceedings of our conference.

Comrades, let me now discuss matters connected with the organization of our conference and its proceedings. Comrade delegates have received draft agendas and rules for the National Conference of Delegates; they have also received the lists giving the composition of the Mandates Commission and the Commission for Resolutions and Motions. Do any comrades have any remarks or proposals concerning the draft agenda of the conference? Who is for accepting this draft? Thank you. Who is against? I do not see. Who has abstained? I do not see. I state that the agenda for the National Conference of Delegates of the PZPR has been approved.

You have also received the draft rules for the proceedings of the National Conference Delegates. Are there any remarks concerning this draft? Who is for accepting it? Thank you. Who is against? I do not see, thank you. Who has abstained? I do not see. I state that the rules for the proceedings of the National Conference of Delegates have been passed.

Comrades, you have also received draft documents setting out the personal composition of the Mandates Commission and the Commission for Resolutions and Motions. Do any comrades have any remarks or proposals to make regarding the draft composition of the Mandates Commission of the National Conference of Delegates? Who is for accepting this draft? Thank you. Who is against?

[Anchorman then announces that the relay of the proceedings at the national conference will be resumed in several minutes]

Politburo Report

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[PZPR Politburo report delivered by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the 16 March PZPR National Delegates Conference at Congress Hall in Warsaw -- live]

[Text] Comrades: The Central Committee and the Politburo stand in front of you today to give an account of realization of the mandate entrusted to us by the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. We will review those memorable days. It was a dramatic, harsh time. The party was under concentrated enemy fire. The attack against the socialist state was in progress, as was destruction of the economy. The danger to the foundations of national existence was increasing. But at the same time, hope was originating in the party, in its aktiv and basic organization, in workers teams, and also in a considerable part of the intelligentsia and youth, in cities and villages. It was the idea of socialist renewal.

We remember the atmosphere in this hall: bitterness of disappointments, agitations and worries, but most of all the search for solutions, the will to introduce necessary changes, the readiness to defend socialism in Poland. The line of the ninth congress proved to be correct in subsequent extremely difficult tests. Today, these are not announcements and intentions, but the practice which is stubbornly clearing its way. We have done a little and a lot. Less than we wanted to, but more than one could expect.

Much is behind us. But the party and country still face an uneasy path. Let us repeat once again: The most dramatic is behind us, the most difficult in front of us.

This will be the subject of our joint debate. Our conference was preceded by long, profound work by central authorities of the party and delegates. It was accompanied by lively activity of the whole party, especially by assessments and conclusions of the accountability - election campaign. The results of this work are in information and reports submitted to you, and in the draft declaration "What we are fighting for, where are we heading," and in materials for discussion on perspective programs.

It makes possible that the report by the Politburo focuses only on some selected issues.

Comrades, we better understand the historic significance of the ninth congress today than in July 1981. It has been confirmed and emphasized. In an extremely complicated situation, the party rightly assessed the course of events of that time and carried out the correction of its line.

The congress saved the party from detaching itself from life and from social reality. On the other hand, it also saved the party from abandoning the principles of Marxism-Leninism. These two dangers were a reality then. The line worked out at the ninth congress had not been dictated to us. The same current, a profoundly critical one, had been seen in the party since at least the period preceding the eighth congress. It had been silenced by the then leadership. It made itself heard again. It found confirmation for itself in the stance of the working class. The working class demanded socialism without distortions and diseases. Those who, in their demands to convene an extraordinary congress, saw only ideological disorder and the pressures of alien views were shortsighted. On the contrary, this was a great effort undertaken to cure the party, to defend socialism.

Trade unionists also broadly participated in this effort, including the then members of Solidarity. Many of the delegates gathered today in this hall were members of this union. At that time, there was only one division within the party, between those who desired to strengthen it and those who deliberately or involuntarily were instrumental in its weakening.

The so-called horizontal structures which were defeatist and easily affected by ideologically alien forces were bursting the party from within. They threatened its identity. Also, trends which were conservative and reluctant for renewal were visible then, too. The ninth congress tackled in a principled way the errors committed in the pre-August period. It warned against counterrevolutionary dangers; it opened a new phase with regard to quality in the life of the party. The line of agreement, struggle, and socialist reforms meant faithfulness to the universal principles of socialism, in the reality of Polish conditions and in a concrete historical period. However, the party had not regained its strength and social credibility enough to alter the situation. The party's influence had been weakened in a profound way, as a result of a consecutive political crisis and a socioeconomic crisis. This was used in a merciless way by external and internal enemies of socialism. Again it became clear, and how painfully, how high is the price to be paid for abandoning Leninist principles and weakening the link between the party, the working class, and the public.

It is not enough to pass a decree about the party's leading role. It is necessary to construct it laboriously and every day in every corner of our country and in every milieu, everywhere that the party exists and is active. Even the most frank declaration and most just resolutions or radical changes in personnel will not automatically change social moods and will not get rid of feelings of resentment from one day to another. Only practice can do this. The necessary time and creation of the fact that count are conditions for this. The enemy understood it, too. That is why they intensified their attacks on the party as soon as the day after the congress. The counterrevolution was in a hurry. It put the fate of the country and the nation all in one basket. A catastrophe was only a step away from us.

It was necessary to forcefully stop the onward march of the counterrevolution. The Polish Army fulfilled its constitutional duty and rescued the country. It confirmed that it is an efficient, cohesive, and unambiguously class-based political force on which socialist Poland can always depend. [applause]

Comrades, the main sources of the party's strength are its conformity, regarding its policies, with Marxism-Leninism, its democratic centralism, and its bond with the working class and working people. Socialism is socialism as such inasmuch as it fulfills the interests, aspirations, and system of values of the working class.

There can be no deviations from this rule of thumb. The party fulfills a dual role regarding the working class. On the one hand, it is the working class vanguard, and, on the other, it has to serve it. If the party looks upon itself exclusively as the vanguard and isolates itself from human problems and moods, then sooner or later it begins to look down on workers from above and distances itself from the masses. Such a vanguard has very few followers.

A party which seeks cheap applause, which tries to ingratiate itself, and which has succumbed to demagogy loses its clarify of vision, its genuine revolutionary nature, and its leadership nature. Both these dangers were not alien to our party in the past.

The bond with the social base is not only a matter of the party in the form of a great structure and the leading political force of the country. It is a matter for each of the more than two million people who comprise it. The party is the people of the party, people with a name and surname, with a face, and with a stance which millions of eyes follow each day.

Less thought is given to and too little is said about what these people are really like and what they should be like. Criticism usually dies down here because this criticism must be linked up with self-criticism and because something has to be said about oneself. This has placed a burden on the life of the party and can be felt all the time. These matters were addressed at the 15th plenum. Incessant work awaits us in this sphere. In a poll carried out among the comrade delegates before the present conference, more than one-third of those polled expressed the view that the implementation of the ninth congress resolution is not consistent enough. Thus, it is worthwhile finding a clear answer to the question as to where the present sources of our weaknesses can be found.

The overwhelming majority of the working class has appreciated the party's efforts aimed at agreement and preventing a fratricidal confrontation. If this were not true, then without a shadow of a doubt the days following 13 December 1981 would have taken a different course. But acceptance of the line is not synonymous with full confidence. We know how difficult it can be to reconcile two people. So, we can imagine how difficult this is when human masses are involved. We have to continue to work hard to achieve this authentic bond.

Our party has in its ranks representatives of various strata and professions, including working peasants and a considerable percentage of the intelligentsia. This is why we must remember all the more that one of the fundamental postulates of the whole party regarding the ninth congress was that we reprimanded ourselves and that it should be a "workers'" party not only in name. Meanwhile, workers constitute a considerable percentage of those who of their own free will, or on the basis of party decisions are now outside our ranks. This is without a doubt a most painful loss. The development of the party in this area is one of the fundamental tasks for today and the future.

It is not just the percentage of workers who are party members that is decisively important for the party's class nature. In the mid and late seventies, this proportion was higher than now. But was the workers' voice heeded at that time, were their opinions taken into consideration? It is true that the recent accountability-election campaign could have brought more workers to participate in the exercise of authority. However, during that most difficult period, many workers joined the ranks of the new aktivists. They will no longer agree to have somebody else's words put into their mouths.

It is no coincidence that many of you, comrade delegates, who took part in the ninth congress as workers, arrived at the conference in the capacity of first secretaries of your works' committees. In this we see a phenomenon which is good and healthy for the party. Workers should not just be a group that happens to be a constituent part of the party -- they must form its backbone. This task assumes an extraordinary importance in relation to the new generation of workers. Most of Poland's working class is comprised of people between 20 and 30 years of age. However, the proportion of party members and candidate members below the age of 30 has not been so low for a long time. As far as the party authorities are concerned, there are also less young comrades here. Many comrades did not undergo election stages.

The Politburo expects that there will be a fruitful discussion around this subject; it expects concrete proposals. Each committee, each and every party organization must answer the question: Do we understand young people well? What have we done to win them over to the party? How many of them do we have among the aktivists and in the commissions and teams which deal with various problems? Do they have tasks all of their own, ambitious tasks? The best way to educate and train your successors is in action, in concrete work.

The ninth plenum of the Central Committee was devoted, in its entirety, to the young generation's problems. These problems are reflected more and more in the work of the Sejm, the government, and youth organizations. We cannot, however, state that the practical results are already satisfactory. As a party of workers, we must efficiently strive so that workers' and peasants' children have an equal start in life. However, it will not be possible to do anything for young people without their participation and on their behalf. They must take a firm grip on their own affairs. An open and critical way of thinking is characteristic of young people; so is fervor and an uncompromising attitude. This is a capital that can be utilized for various ends and in various ways. It is the party's duty to create conditions that will channel these valuable attributes in a creative and socialist direction. Shortcomings and lack of activity have appeared in educational, propaganda, ideological, and upbringing work.

The enemy exploited this, showing the poisoned seeds. Many young people could have lost their way, given the not infrequent divergences between theory and life, words and practice. But it is necessary to unwind the tangled paths, above all through facts, but also through an interpretation of the facts that is wise and convincing.

The ninth congress has set the task for the party to take the ideological and intellectual initiative anew. We have devoted our 12th and especially our 13th plenum to this.

The party continues to operate in complex sociopolitical conditions with an open flow of information. The party's influence on society, in which various ideological and world-view differences rub against each other, requires patiently, consistently, and boldly meeting the people halfway, offering them a comprehensible and digestible package of arguments.

The party should lecture less on what is supposed to be the ideal state of affairs. The party should, above all, explain what already exists and what will occur.

THe receiver is particularly sensitive to a false note. He or she will easily notice a lack of personal involvement. They want arguments and not slogans or empty words. It is necessary to try to win them over all the time to gain them for the ideal of socialism. We have still a long way to go to overcome profound distortions in the state of social awareness. In the conflict where human minds and hearts are at stake, the scientific ideological views and deep political knowledge, that is the historical, economic and revolutionary idea of Marxism-Leninism, has been and is our weapon. However, problems do not only lie in theory. It ought to serve, above all, an appropriate understanding of the stance of the party in all issues which are important for the working people and for a socialist state. This practical attitude in conditions of acute ideological struggle, which is taking place at present, is of a particularly great significance. It creates new and complex tasks before and beyond the ideological frontier. The press, radio, and television occupy a special place here. They have been and still are violently attacked by the enemies. They are becoming hardened in this struggle. They are gaining new experiences. They slip now and again, too, but the party is counting on the fact that the mass media is gaining understanding and support for the policy of the party in an increasingly effective manner.

Comrades, the cohesion of the party is defined by the Leninist norms of the life within it. They are expressed by the party statute. It establishes a close and precise interdependence of democracy and centralism. In this matter, a necessary balance is being attained in the party. Statutory proportions between the right to express one's views and the duty to obey joint decisions are being reintroduced. The party today is neither a debating club nor a voting machine. We do not need and cannot think in the same way, but we have to think together; that is, through discussion, and if necessary by conflict, we have to arrive at joint decisions which will be binding for every member of the party.

We have attained an improvement in the implementation of resolutions. However, there are still too many, far too many resolutions which remain only on paper. We have to implement in the life of the party, in a persistent way, the habit of carrying out the decisions adopted. The elected organs better implement their supreme statutory function; collectiveness in the work of echelons becomes a norm. The practice of asking for opinions in the aktiv is becoming more and more common. Customs which are simpler, more natural and less ceremonious, have been consolidated in the party. The significance of the basic party organizations is growing in the party structure and its activity: They are its decisive moral and political link, they are in the front line of struggle. In places where these organizations are weak and passive -- unfortunately this is still the case in quite a large number of organizations -- the party cannot count on its inspiratorial influence and respect. In places where the organizations are active and strong, the political situation is shaping up in a favorable manner. The Politburo hopes that the National Conference of Delegates will carry out a deeper analysis of the work of the basic party organizations and that it will arm the party with suitable conclusions and proposals.

Comrades, the commission which has been adopted in accordance with the decision of the ninth congress in order to explain the reasons and course of crises in the history of People's Poland has fulfilled its tasks.

The full version of the report was published without any restrictions. We remember the concern aroused at the congress by the question of responsibility for violating the party's statute and its moral code. Today, when facts and not speculation and gossip are known, we can view this painful matter from perspective. The trend within the party to give account of its action was born from justified anger and bitterness. But there were also wrongful and false accusations. The call for giving account was used by the adversary to attack the party and state cadre as a whole. The party requires many virtues from those whom it trusts. But most of all it demands honesty, modesty, and unselfishness in service to the party. Demoralization is not forgiven to anyone.

Can we say that in this respect, the party is healthier today than before the congress? We absolutely can. Examples of violating moral norms are few today. But each case is and will be strongly condemned, and strict measures will be taken. The process of self-blame in the party is neither action nor campaign. We are acting among people, with all their imperfections. Whoever does not want or cannot get rid of his own mistakes, must be gotten rid of by the party. Our ranks were reduced not only by expulsions, but also by resignations. There were people who returned their party cards as a result of doubt, agitation, or pressure of the milieu. Some already regret this decision. We do not treat former party members as adversaries. I am sure many of them are and will remain with us as allies and active citizens of socialist Poland.

Esteemed comrades, renewal of the state is expressed first of all by the development of socialist democracy. We understand it as an inseparable attribute, one of the chief rules of our system. We drew conclusions from severe but justified criticism of haughtiness and voluntarism, arrogance and actions without social control. At the same time, we will not allow a relapse into anarchy. Harsh rigors against those who dare to act against the state and society must be used to protect democracy.

It is not easy to follow this path. There are those who look back to the old world. They are deluding the others with a mirage of boundless democracy which is totally unreal and existing nowhere. Others are trying to halt developments. They are trying to hinder socialism with a doctrinaire norm and they see heresy in every increase in citizens' activity which goes beyond their norm. This unknown also arouses anxiety. Lack of experience and deficiency in political culture can do it, too.

Our enemies are active; they are urging passivity, boycott, and refusal. The party inspires the development of socialist democracy. It creates conditions for it and encourages people. However, the avant-garde cannot be the only participant or creator of people's authority. The expectations of the working class and the working people as a whole have to be accompanied by their mass participation in all systems and functions of democracy and in all processes of managing the issues of the nation. The scope of national involvement will be decisive for the speed, scope, and permanence of socialist renewal. A common awareness of this is necessary in the party.

The main assumptions of the PZPR's cadres policy should bring about values of higher quality. They were adopted at the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. The state system of work as regards cadres in offices will also be examined soon. The principles of the functioning of cadres have to be learned and assimilated by the party, above all. In this sphere the situation has not been too good so far. It is also necessary that the principles should become easy to understand for the general public.

The creation of cadre reserves, that is, painstaking search for and selecting the best, and subsequently their supervision into individualized paths of development is a task of great importance. We are, after all, selecting the successors to leading posts, particularly in organizational structures all over the country. This work determines so much and so directly the future of the country. We have to understand this in the party; we have to treat it with appropriate care. Let it not be, as Lenin put it, that there are many people but a shortage of people. The urgent need to increase reserve cadres among the workers should be stressed as one of the concrete tasks in this sphere. This is true particularly for young people without party affiliation, and for women. Our cadres must consist precisely of these to an extent which must be greater than so far. The most profound message of socialist renewal is ensuring that there is a link between the party and the people's authorities with the working class, and the working people.

Facts and deeds approved by the public will be decisive for successful activities in this direction. We are steadfastly creating these facts and deeds, especially through various forms of contacts and dialogue which help us to discover the opinions, assessments, and views of individual circles. Despite progress having been achieved in this sphere, the old habits of haughtiness, and examples of doing things to suit oneself and not the citizens at large still give rise to concern. Criticism of these often evokes cat-like self-preservation reactions. Energy which should be channeled toward improving the situation was used up uselessly to organize operations designed to refute charges, to complicate straight-forward matters, and to keep up sham appearances. Insufficient progress has been achieved in molding a social order which would inculcate generally recognized norms of coexistence, in which relationships between people would be built on awareness of the dignity of man and citizen. Ill-will, petty behavior, and cunning are unfortunately phenomenons which are not rare on our social landscape. But when all is said and done, rapid and tremendous progress can be achieved here using -- if you pardon the expression -- noninvestment methods. This can be done by removing what bothers people, by improving and ennobling life and by combating everything that makes this life difficult and spoils it.

Esteemed comrades, independent and self-governing trade unions are an exceptionally important link of socialist democracy. They open up a new page in the trade union movement. People from various trade union communities meet in them. The diversions of recent times are receding into the past. Preconditions, which are of key importance for national integration, of class-based workers' unity are being formed. There is now a grand total of almost 4.3 million trade union members and there are more and more all the time. Workers form the dominant part of this movement. There are not only factories but also whole industrial sectors where more than half of those employed are trade union members.

This is how matters stand in the mining community and among agricultural workers and teachers. The creation of national organizations in all sectors is an important stage in the development of the trade union movement. Their influence, which has been increased as a result of this, creates appropriate and objective conditions for cooperation with the central organs of authority and with the state and economic administration. The party confirms that it is the basic task of trade unions to speak up for the rights and interests of their members and of all working people. Linked with this is coresponsibility for multiplying the national income, for creating a climate which promotes good productive work and for satisfying man's spiritual needs. The party advocates the independence and self-governing nature of trade unions. For the party, the critical voice of trade unionists is an irreplaceable signal for the early tracking down of irregularities that are taking place, and for enriching programs that are already being implemented. The party expects full involvement in trade union activity from its members.

The ninth congress affirmed support for the creation of workers' self-governments at enterprises. These guarantee implementation of the constitutional principle of working people taking part in management, and thereby the lasting nature of the direction that has been taken in the development of workers' democracy. At the same time self-government constitutes a form of organization for a socialist state enterprise. Workers' self-government has already become an important creative force backing up the economic reform at a considerable number of enterprises.

There are examples of this, such as Rafamet, Raciborz Forge, the Zawiercie casting plant, the Radom leather works, the Radoskor furniture factory in Swarzedz, the Adolf Warski Shipyard in Szczecin, the Warsaw construction machinery complex named after Warynski, and many, many others. In a decisive majority of enterprises, good cooperation is developing between trade union organizations and self-government organs of the work forces. Arguments about competence which occur from time to time have their main source in the insufficient knowledge of the law or lack of experience of the aktivists.

There are some cases, however, where the reasons for such conflicts are political divisions, which still exist in some of the work forces. We express a resolute stance that no self-government can stand on ground contrary to the socialist state, that each one should be subservient to the social interest. The value of self-government lies in the fact that a social group knows best how to resolve its problems, but it must do this within the limits of the legal order which is in force.

We also note cases where administrative and economic links do not respect the legal rights of the self-governments and trade unions. The party will not be indifferent to such occurrances. There must be no return to bad practices of the past, to ignoring the voice of the work force. Consulting the proposals of important decisions and listening to and considering social opinion are inviolable principles. We are beginning to implement this in cooperation between the government and the trade unions. This is also the duty of all the links of the economic administration, including, above all, the leadership of ministries and directors of enterprises.

Party organizations in enterprises must create conditions for partner-like and constructive cooperation between the management, self-government, and the trade union and contribute to overcoming the differences of their interests while maintaining the supremacy of the general social needs. Party members active in trade unions and self-governments have as their duty to oppose excessive individualism, work toward unification of attitudes, and have an integrating influence on the work force.

Comrade delegates, there is a clear, acute indication of the necessity to make definite progress in combating criminality and social pathology. In the period since the ninth congress many efforts were undertaken in this sphere. Let me recall, for instance, some laws issued in this sphere: the activity of the commission for combating profiteering, the commission for prevention of alcoholism, new tighter controls by the treasury and tax organs, principal improvement of the functioning of the whole system of the state control organs. I will also mention the Supreme Control Chamber and the fundamentally (?reorganized) main regional inspectorate. We also remember the significant role played by the plenipotentiaries of the National Defense Committee -- military commissars, Armed Forces Inspectorate and military operational groups. One should stress the enormous contribution of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Civic Militia, and the Security Service. In times past, in those dramatic times, and now, they bear selflessly the burden of responsibility in the frontline of the protection of state order, public order and security of citizens.

In order to coordinate and intensify the struggle against broadly understoood criminality, the Council of Ministers Committee for Observance of the Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline was established. Its activity has gained momentum and we have great expectations of it. However, the effectiveness of the struggle against evil depends to a great extent on the scale of support and activity of the working people.

This need could be met by appointing the inspectorate of workers and farmers. The Politburo has decided to present this concept at deliberations of the next plenum of the Central Committee which will take place with the broad participation of workers who are party members and nonparty members.

Esteemed comrades, the economy is the foundation of the nation's existence. Economic aims and tasks as mapped out by the ninth congress have been concretized and their implementation was being assessed at the 3d, 8th, 10th, 11th, and 14th plenums of the Central Committee.

To begin with, two statements, two certainties: Poland's economy has changed rapidly over 40 years. As a matter of fact, a great industrial complex was built from scratch. The country has been rescued from the backwardness of centuries. Unprecedented war destruction has been eliminated. We know today that it would have been possible to attain more if not for the extensive forms of management and errors in economic policy which have been assessed by the party in a severe manner -- mainly, voluntarism of management circles in the past decade.

However, 1980-81 was particularly dramatic. Blows were struck against the economy which had been already weakened. Pay rises and multiplying benefits were accompanied, contrary to any logic, by shorter working hours, the insanity of strikes, and a relaxation of discipline. As a result of this, the economic process became totally irregular. Labor productivity dropped, as did production and the GNP. Great losses occurred. We shall be paying for this for a long time. It is easy to ruin things quickly, but it takes a long time to rebuild them.

In a critical situation, it is the duty of the socialist state to defend the weakest groups and to guarantee that the fundamental needs of the general public are satisfied. This task has been fulfilled. Nobody is threatened by a lack of a job, by hunger, cold, or lack of medical treatment. Access to culture and education has also been guaranteed. Organized holidays for children and young people have been increased. Groups in the lowest income brackets have received compensation for the official price changes. The final phase of updating old age and other pensions has begun before the deadline.

Many people still have difficult lives. Thus, the policy of protecting the weakest ought to be continued. However, it requires perfecting so that state aid is given in necessary dimensions only to those who really nead it.

Recently, the 14th plenum of the Central Committee has been in conference over the assessment of the path covered and tasks for the near future. Today, all economic problems will be presented by Comrade Zbigniew Messner in a government report. Allow me thus to restrict myself to certain issues only in the Politburo report.

The ninth congress deemed carrying out economic reform as the most important condition for overcoming the economic crisis and ensuring balanced socioeconomic development. The reform was to broaden the independence of enterprises and increase effectiveness of strategic and central planning and managing of the economy. The period of time that elapsed between working out the draft of the reform's assumptions and putting them into effect was extraordinarily short. The pressure of unfavorable conditions was great.

However, we did deduce to take this bold step with full confidence in the working class and the working people to the managing cadres. This was the right decision. The reform is an important socioeconomic fact. However, it is also an area of acute political struggle. The enemies proclaimed first of all that the party and the government did not want to introduce the reform; then, that they were not capable of doing so. A utopian capitalist alternative in disguise was proposed, the so-called net.

Now, the enemies, are saying that the reform has failed. This is understandable. The economic reform was initiated by the party and people's authorities, so its success will be a defeat of antisocialist orientations. Of course, there are weaknesses in implementing the reform. It was difficult to envisage some of them. We are gathering experiences; we are introducing necessary corrections. New rules of managing the economy are met with the resistance of those whose interests are threatened. They demand to be treated preferentially. They are seeking ways of improving the situation not in their domain, but in those of the authorities.

The reform is and will remain our greatest reserve and chance. But we are still far from making full use of its possibilities. One has to stop arguing for and against the reform, but has to learn it and implement it consistently. No mechanisms work on their own; the people decide. The party is governing through people, and is influencing their behavior and attitudes. It has to guard and care that national property, which is managed by work forces, is used in accordance with social needs, with the interest of the working class.

The party organizations in work enterprises should emphasize everything which directly depends on labor. They should emphasize technical progress, economy, and quality. They should create the climate for innovations, improvement of organization, and working conditions. The economic policy is the policy of making decisions. There are class interests behind each choice. The party task is to give such shape to economic interests that they will serve the interests of the working class, the working people of cities and villages.

A question is often raised in many discussions: In what stage of development is Poland? As is known, there are various views and assessments on this subject. In the past decade, the view was expressed that we were entering the period of construction of developed socialism. Today, one can find a different view: Socialism in Poland is not even in sight. One has to look at this matter realistically and responsibly. At the 13th plenum of the Central Committee, it was said that a simple formula was not enough for assessing the complicated reality of our country.

We have created the bases of socialism in many important spheres of social life. Their structure is strong. The socialist way of production predominates. The state authority has socialist character. Poland is the solid cell in the system of socialist states.

But the degree of system changes is unequal and differentiated, both in the base and the superstructure. There are also some areas where there is stagnation or even alarming regression.

The penetrating research of class and group stratifications and discrepancies which came into being recently or go back to earlier periods is indispensable, together with qualifications of the present stage of building socialism in Poland. The Marxist social sciences and scientists-party members should deal with that. It will be an especially important duty of the Academy of Social Science which is being set up.

The working class is sensitive to social justice. The decline of the general living standard has heightened this sensitivity even further. In every crisis, there are extremes of wealth and poverty. The exploitation is sharpening, both the one known from economic theory on seizure of surplus value -- what is taking place here in the small capitalist sector -- and another taking the shape of speculation, corruption, tax fraud, and economic scandals which are the source of a particular kind of capital, speculative capital. It all leads to the creation of a vicious circle where the rich produce goods and services for the rich. The working people's discontent against this background is justifiable, both when private enterprises are making great profit and when due to inconsiderate granting of licenses the number of boutiques is increasing, but there are problems with shoe repair, servicing home equipment, and tailoring.

Workers are also asking: How is it that specialists who have been educated at the cost of society undertake work in the private sector, in the expatriate Polish firms, and in many cases in specialities different than their acquired qualifications? When a graduate is working for his own profit, should he not repay to the society at least part of the cost of his education? Infringements of the law have to be resolutely opposed; where the existing law is imperfect and allows creation of socially unacceptable contracts, one should change the law. But there must be no rash decisions here which would undercut the roots of the honest craft which satisfies socially important needs.

Such crafts and small scale manufacturing ought to be protected by us, and should be provided with stable conditions. We should cooperate with the Democratic Party (SD) in perfecting the principles and conditions for its functioning. Although it sounds strange, there is a type of exploitation in the cooperative and state economies. Whoever infringes on labor discipline, works halfheartedly, produces rubbish, demands pay increases in enterprises which run at a loss, or increased wages through unjustified price increases, also takes away what has been produced by others and thus acts against the socialist system of values. Such persons live at the expense of others.

Allow me to quote here an invoice issued by the experimental department of the Industrial Institute of Construction Machinery in Biskupiec for repair of an elevator [ogranicznik podzwigu]:

Materials used:

one transistor	Z2.00
two bulbs	Z18.80
two integrated circuits	Z46.00

total for materials	Z66.80
labor	Z2,786.32
cost of transport and call out	Z5.364.00
department costs	Z8,358.96
enterprise cost	Z17,832.45
total own cost	Z34,408.53
profit	Z6,180.91

Calculated price of sale Z40,589.44. Please note how precisely the cost of fitting of those two bulbs and three small items has been calculated. The party must not ignore any occurrences of exploitation. In the struggle in this sphere, our position is and will be on the side of the interest of the working class, on the side of honest people. [applause] We do not understand equality in a primitive way. Hard and productive work must be profitable, as well as organizational skills and use of one's own resources.

This is the reason why those who give a lot of themselves should have more for themselves. Incomes achieved in this manner come within the formula of socialist social justice, even if they are considerably above the average earnings level. Each elevator is powered by an engine. In our system, front-ranking workers, masters in their own profession, and rationalizers, creators of new technologies and inventors, and talented production managers make up this engine. These people ought to earn more, even a lot more than the average. This will be fair. The changes now being introduced in the factory wages systems, the decisions that have been made on tax exemption for money received for inventions, patents, and rationalization ideas, and also the easing of the equalizing tax ought to help ensure that the best receive fair rewards.

The period since the ninth congress is as an unparalleled school of economics; we are learning about many matters from the grassroots level. Everyone has had to take a seat on the school bench: decisionmakers and executives, producers and consumers, the public, the government, and the Sejm. The main conclusion from this education is that one can divide up only the amount that has been produced, and one can pay only according to what one has for sale and at prices that are the same as the costs. In the long run, one cannot live above what one can afford. In the past attempts to implement these principles have met with opposition. The reason for this was that they were unilaterally undertaken, that they came as a surprise to working people, and that the state of social awareness was not considered. We have drawn conclusions from this. Today we speak openly and honestly about economic matters. We subject them to public discussion, irrespective of their sensitive nature or the risk that they might be rejected. Recent years and months prove that this is a productive approach. However, this does not mean that tendencies do not exist, marked by narrow interests and claims for special treatment. Among others, there are more and more claims for all sorts of reductions, and claims that everyone should be guaranteed the average increase in earnings regardless of what results have been achieved. Postulates are being made that additional benefits, allowances, and holidays should be introduced. However, they are already exaggerated in many instances as to their scope, sometimes they are abused as well. The economy cannot be cheated. Someone has to pay, someone has to bear the costs.

Just take the example of the recently more pronounced tendency of early retirements, accounting for more and more of the number of people leaving work. In 1983 the increase in the number of early retirements was double that for normal retirements. There are signs that there are numerous irregularities with regard to the granting of early retirement pensions, particularly in the lower categories, and also with regard to people being sent to and using sanatoria. The matter is being checked and resolved, and existing practices will be revised.

In accordance with the resolutions of the ninth congress and the joint 11th plenum, and with the decisions made at sessions of the PZPR and the ZSL leaderships, particular attention has been focused on agriculture. The stability of agricultural production has been guaranteed. New preconditions have been created for strengthening the worker-peasant alliance. The production and normal everyday needs of the countryside are being met according to how the state of the national economy can make this possible. Production activity in the countryside has increased.

Hard work by farmers, cooperative workers, employees of the state agricultural farms, and the agricultural and food industry creates food safety of our nations. However, there are still great reserves. They have been amply illustrated by differences in the economic results achieved. For example, Chelm and Bydgoszcz Voivodships have similar conditions for agricultural production. However, the production per hectare in the latter is higher than in the former by 54 percent. Similarly, Kalisz Voivodship has achieved much better results than Bielsko Podlaska. It is not a matter of indifference to our party how the principles of social justice are implemented in rural areas. It is necessary to counteract that which leads to a blatant distortion of social relations, that is, bribery, favoritism, the richer and better placed exploiting their position in purchasing means of production, which are difficult to acquire and subsidised by the state. This is a special form of exploitation and must not be tolerated. We are counting here on cooperation on the joint front with the ZSL, which has inherited the traditions of the radical rural movement that noticed social differentiation in the rural areas and which has opposed agrarian trends. The policy of the seventies led to the dependence of our economy on the West. The results of that are clearly visible today: in enterprises, on construction sites, and in the burdens that we are experiencing and that will continue because of our debts.

We have begun a strategic reorientation of our economy. Initial results are already visible. In foreign trade the participation of our turnover with CEMA countries has increased in 3 years by more than 17 percent. A decline in trade encompassed by specialization and cooperation has been halted. There is direct cooperation between enterprises. We are participating in the work which ought to raise the process of socialist economic integration to a level of quality. Shifting the economy toward broader and more lasting cooperation with socialist countries, we are also interested in the development of exchange of goods and services with developed countries. There are issues which are burdening us today with their weight. It is impermissible, however, not to think about tomorrow. There are many needs which have not yet been satisfied; there are many tasks which have not yet been implemented; there are many challenges of the present day which have not yet been taken up. Fortunately, we also have many reserves which have not yet been utilized. We have spoken extensively about this at the 14th plenum.

The needs of today and the great tasks for the future are urgent. We do not have sufficient means for their full implementation at present. The GNP for distribution is at the 1973 level, yet needs have not returned to the level of 11 years ago. We know what to do though, and we have the most precious good: educated cadres, great reserves in the research and development base which has not been exploited effectively enough.

We are aware of the fact that scientific research is suffering in many areas, particularly in the conditions of crisis. There is scarcity of means and a need to select areas for research arises from it as does the need for abandoning basic research (?in some areas). We want them to be a joint choice of the decisionmaking centers and scientists. We have to eliminate the system, organizational and psychological barriers on the path from an idea to an industry. Such tasks will be placed before the government committee for coordinating scientific policy and scientific progress in Poland. In the conditions of overcoming the crisis all that is truly creative, above average, well-aimed, and addressed to the needs is counted as a double contribution.

It is high time to stop sheltering behind the word crisis and using it as an excuse for helplessness, passivity, and reluctance to take responsibility. Let us seek during the conference a reply to the question: Why do some work well and others not exploit even some of existing possibilities? How are we to stimulate a broad upward movement of equalization toward the best; what should party organizations do about this? The reply to these questions would allow us to act more successfully and more certainly toward the release of reserves, and to look with optimism toward the chance of solving our problems.

Comrades, the ninth congress advocated with all vigor national accord. Without a Marxist-Leninist party one cannot build socialism, but communists alone will not be able to build it. Deep, systemic transformations are impossible to realize without the active participation of the community. The principle of links with the masses, class alliances, a broad front of democratic, prosocialist forces is one of the main signs of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. The achievement of 40 years is the joint achievement of the working people, workers, peasants, and intelligentsia, members of our party, fraternal parties, and nonparty people, believers and nonbelievers. It is the achievement of the whole nation. The uniting of citizens in building a new Poland was the standard slogan of the Polish Workers Party. In February 1945 Wladyslaw Gomulka said: So far as the idea of a national front is concerned it is an expression of certain compromise which aims to gain for democratic Poland, as well as for the line of our party, not only the majority of the working class but the majority of the whole nation. The implementation of the idea in the conditions of struggle for the consolidation of systematic transformations caused the working masses, in great majority nonparty, to recognize the right of people's rule and stand on the side of socialism. The National Unity Front later operated in this direction. Despite not always favorable conditions and with various degree of success it did many useful things for Poland and for the community.

We confirmed most forcefully our desire for agreement during the period of martial law. We acted patiently and with moderation. We created opportunities for those who were confused or lost. The amnesty reflected the conviction that people change and that they will continue to change. The strategy for agreement does take into account the differences and dissimilarities that exist within society. We are aware of the divisions, sometimes acute ones, in various communities and even within families, between people that are close to each other. Invariably our attitude toward doubts and indecision is one of understanding. We do not oversimplify the complex human destiny. The declaration remains in force: We do not ask where people come from and what they did yesterday. What is important, is what he does today, how he intends to act tomorrow. Does he want to serve his fatherland that is in need?

Agreement and struggle are two sides of one and the same task, the same process. Moreover, the struggle is being waged around the very essence of the agreement. The party has never offered, in exchange for agreement, concessions in the social system. There will be no agreement -- nor can there be -- with antisocialist extremists. The Poland that is confined between the Bug and the Odra Rivers is socialist. There is no other Poland -- nor will there be. [applause]

In the most difficult period the road to patriotic agreement led through the spontaneous activities of the Civic Committee for National Rebirth [OKON]. From the distance of time, it is all the more necessary to express appreciation for the courage and political acumen of their participants. PRON has become a constitutionally sanctioned instrument of the political system. PRON is an organized form of the alliance between workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia: Its foundations are already impressive; it has already put forward many initiatives; the forms it chooses for its actions are rich and authentic. It recruits its members from an extensive field. What it has to offer is still topical. No one tries to divide PRON members into those that joined earlier and those that joined later. No one will find a shortage of things to do within this movement. All the main political forces are affiliated with it and this also applies to many organizations, unions, and social federations. Therefore, today it is already a movement of many millions of people.

The coalition cooperation between the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD, together with the active participation of associations of Christians and lay Catholics forms the core of PRON. It is a good thing that more and more people who do not belong to any party, join in. Among them there are more and more social activists who enjoy extensive recognition and authority. We are fully aware of the need to enrich the partner-like role, position and coresponsibility of the allied parties. Simultaneously, the awareness of our party's leading role must be strengthened within their ranks. Our socialist system can only develop correctly in this way. The party wants its members to give a good, inspiring example in their work for an agreement, undertaken within the PRON framework. The party wants its members to remember that any posturing and empty theatrical gestures, any playing to the audience at festive meetings, can harm it more than anything else. This is to say nothing of the attempts to issue commands, attempts that do, occasionally, take place. Standing guard over the socialist principle, they ought to acquire the difficult skill of conducting a real dialogue, leading to a situation in which the sides complement each other mutually, in the name both of the great national goals and of local, practical tasks.

Comrades, for almost 40 years now, people with different world views and differing attitudes toward religion have been harmoniously cooperating with each other in their work for people's Poland. This is a fact of the greatest importance. As far as our country's citizens are concerned, there cannot be a choice between loyalty toward the state and attachment to the Church.

More than 100 years ago, a wise and worried priest and scientist, Reverend Walerian Kalinka, wrote: In the list of Polish public virtues one can find all the virtues -- save for obedience. And, without it, how does one go about the business of governing or maintaining the state -- both are impossible. Through opposition, one could quickly gain popularity, and this was by far a faster and more secure process than work. Governing Poland has for long been an extraordinarily difficult affair. It has required such enormous effort in order to remove obstacles created at home that once they were successfully overcome there was little strength left to do something positive. Time and potential were wasted through worthless thrashing about; through fruitless and vituperative criticism; through petty spitefulness.

The topical nature of these thoughts has not faded away. It is worthwhile to read them anew today. The recent, difficult years, have provided most convincing proof that the basic conflicts in society do not run along the line that traces the division in world views. Believers and nonbelievers came to stand side by side, in support of constitutional order. Both believers and nonbelievers could also be found among those who favored confrontation.

Various people, who have mysteriously been converted and become moral individuals, today flirt with the Church and abuse its authority; it gives rise to profound distaste. These people try to turn temples into assembly halls or places of entertainment. They try to wheel and deal in politics in the churches. As the folk saying has it: Even though they pray at the alter, the devil is inside them. They find support among those who seem to be unable to tell the pulpit from the microphones of Radio Free Europe. [applause]

There are other misunderstandings and frictions, and these arise, in particular, against the backdrop of the constitutional principle of the division between the Church and the state, a principle that is accepted in all modern states throughout the world. They attempt to make capital out of it; I have in mind those foreign centers which are always on the look-out for sensations and which are eager to see bad relations -- as bad as possible -- between state and Church.

Neither the state nor the Church needs conflict. It would merely play into the hands of Poland's enemies, harming our country beyond measure. We value highly the fact that the dialogue between the State and the Church has never been broken. Moreover, in the most difficult moments, this dialogue gained in intensity and significance. This dialogue takes place on various levels. The work of the joint Government-Episcopate Commission representatives is proceeding in a constructive manner. Talks between the primate and the premier are taking place. They are not easy for either side; they are principled but are also permeated by a joint concern for the good of Poland. Contacts between the representatives of the Polish Government and the Holy See are of important significance for the way in which relations between the state and the Church are shaped.

The principles of the religious policy of the people's state are invariable: The Catholic Church, other churches and religious associations are free, within the framework of socialist reality, to satisfy fully the religious requirements of believers. The good conditions in which the Church operates are universally known. Its wealth, what it possesses, is likewise universally known.

There does exist an obvious contradiction between materialist philosophy and a system of religious beliefs. We are fully aware of the subtle complexities of the spiritual sphere that revolves round matters concerning religious beliefs. Therefore, that which we have in common: concern for the good of our earthly fatherland that has a real existence, ought to be of decisive importance. This is not an ad hoc, tactical formula; it is our invariable conviction. We want good relations with the Roman Catholic Church; we want to continue them with other churches and religious associations.

There exists an extensive range of patriotic and humanist goals which can be tackled jointly and constructively. In particular, the concern that the country should overcome the crisis as speedily as possible, concern for overcoming the threats to its further development, ought to make for rapprochement between us.

Work to promote civic virtues and labor ethics, to combat various manifestations of social and moral evil can form a natural area for cooperation. Among other things, the act of combating alcoholism and on upbringing in sobriety, and various steps taken by the state to that end converge with the actions of the Church. We evaluate them very positively. Life brings precisely such tasks to the forefront.

Comrades, the party is fully aware of the historical and contemporary role of the Polish intelligentsia. The workers' movement, right from its very inception, attracted to itself many wonderful people from the fields of culture and science. They gave it their knowledge and their talents. They developed the socialist thought. They carried on a persistent struggle against obscurantism and social iniquities.

They often gave life for the idea of national and social liberation. The spiritual and intellectual development of the nation, the achievements of the educational and cultural revolution are the most important pages in the balance of 40 years of People's Poland. We are proud to say that only people's authority could overcome illiteracy and break class barriers in culture.

Socialism has significantly increased the social role of the intelligentsia. The greater part of educated Poles joined the construction of a popular democratic reality. Areas once closed were opened wide to new forces from workers and peasants. Today, more graduates belong to our party than there were in Poland in 1938.

The people's intelligentsia has been formed. It is an important, dynamic part of the new social structure. Our system secured the conditions for useful work for the nation, for creative minds, a large audience of receptive and grateful consumers, and a climate of social respect. The working class needs, to quote Marx, conductors of human work, directors, managers, organizers of production and of direct technical supervision, engineers, and economists. Their class aspirations cannot be fulfilled without the participation of people's humanity which contributes to knowledge and awareness.

Recent years posed a serious test for the intelligentsia. They have, in part become a target for infiltration; in particular they have become victims of intellectual aggression from the sworn enemies of socialism. Most of the intellectuals, representatives of the intelligentsia, have shown their loyalty to socialist Poland, to ideas of social progress. Some, however, lost sight of their origin, of their social and moral duty toward the people who gave them an education. Finally, a small group has chosen for itself the role of intellectual supporter of the extreme, of drummer for the counterrevolution, its advertising agent. The conflict of values has assumed a drastic form. Some have pronounced themselves in favor of socialism, of social justice, others for a bourgeois model, for a return to private ownership; some for defending Poland against imperialist diktat, others for restrictions which are affecting the country. This is also a meaningful aspect of a historic truth.

Today, a considerable part of this milieu is abandoning the wrong path. We appreciate these decisions. An ability for critical self-assessment is in the nature of thinking people. The doggedness of so-called inflexibility is becoming even clearer. Their gestures and poses are sometimes comical. Opposition toward Polish authority, noisily advertised abroad; is, as Comrade Andrzej Wasilewski rightly put it, mostly tantamount to serving those centers hostile to Poland.

The superstructure remains a particular area for accord and struggle. Both of these have particular attributes among the intelligentsia. They arise from the individual character of intellectual activity. Sensitivity and doubt are inseparable from creative search. We are aware that the crisis has severely affected the working conditions of many groups of the intelligentsia. The relative impoverishment of this group as a whole, in comparison with other social groups, has followed. The party will seek to change this unfavorable state of affairs. But we must not give promises without any hard backing. We need means for this. While participating in creating these means the intelligentsia is working for the country and for themselves. Whoever withdraws from this activity is also acting against his own interests.

Higher education is where the intelligentsia is forged. What the higher schools are today the new cadres will be tomorrow. Recognizing the achievements of higher education, maintaining confidence in its feeling of responsibility, we have created institutional bases of autonomy and self-management in higher schools, strong legal bases for the status of scientific workers.

This social accord is far-going in its democratism. We expected that this new status will rationalize research works, education and upbringing processes, and increase discipline and the effectiveness of studies. There have been varying degrees of success.

The situation is improving in some higher educational establishments. In others, progress is insignificant. The socialist spirit of the act is not being observed. There are attempts at abuse of the powers contained therein. We regard the forthcoming elections of authorities of higher educational establishments as an important test of the usefulness of the new statutory regulations, a test of the attitude of the academic community. The policy toward higher education has, and will continue to have, a socialist nature. There is no state that would allow an unhindered dissemination of antistate sentiments, entrusting the education of youth to the ideological and class enemy. This applies to the whole of the education system.

The situation in the educational system is returning to normal. However, serious shortcomings, old and new, can be seen in the ideological and civic work of schools. The issues of what model our schools should follow, of amending the curriculum, of choosing appropriate reading lists, of making the tasks of upbringing through work more concrete is on the agenda. It is time that the ranks of our teacher comrades, numbering many thousands, together with all the active forces of the school, its social infrastructure, should go over to the offensive along with the education and upbringing fronts.

In a resolution passed by the ninth congress, we stated: In order to implement the goals of the culture policies, the party wishes to win over the most outstanding representatives of the creative communities, intellectuals and artists, and to draw from their knowledge and experience. This line is obligatory in the fullest sense.

We do much to create programmatic and institutional foundations and material conditions serving Polish culture. One has to recall the formation of the National Council of Culture and the Cultural Development Fund, as well as various legislative measures; the increase -- during what was an extraordinarily difficult period -- of reprints of books; efforts made in the resurrection of regional, local cultural activities taking place in the countryside and in workplaces.

Creative associations and unions become stronger in their new shape. In collision with their opponents, they develop independent activities which accord with the laws and interests of People's Poland. It is an important condition for partner-like relations with the patronage of the state, an expression of shared concern for the good of the national culture, confirmation of the invariability of the principles of culture policy. We broadly understand culture; subsumed within this concept is culture of work and culture of coexistence; culture of spoken word and custom, of interhuman relations. There are few, if any, causes for satisfaction in this respect.

Side by side with the process whereby cultural differences are smoothed out, with better examples of how to live, we still have areas of backwardness and even a recurrence of common ignorance. The rubbish about oil from Karlino was the most striking manifestation of this ignorance -- this oil was to have turned Poland into a second Kuwait, but, unfortunately, our neighbors would have none of that and by means of a secret pipeline they pumped it straight to Moscow! Recently, thousands of naive people hastened to see another routine miracle at the oasis. Well, everyone has a miracle he deserves, but there is also a kind of ignorance that is socially dangerous, and it is reflected in hooliganism and brutality, drunkenness, and the dirtying of the language. As a rule, those who so willingly put on various kinds of refined, European and wordly airs prefer not to notice it.

Elimination of social deformations cannot be accomplished in one campaign, within a month, or a year. It is a continuous task. Without it socialism would be like an incapacitated person. We appeal to intellectuals, scientists, and educators, those who create the spiritual wealth of the nation, Polish intelligentsia: Nothing can replace your knowledge and talent linked to an awareness of social duty. They are essential for Poland, for whom a road of resurrection, democratic reforms, the prospect of socialism that fully serves the people, is opening.

Comrades, events in Poland have not just had an internal dimension alone; this continues to be the case. These events are taking place against the backdrop of a complicated international situation. We have repeatedly drawn attention to the dangerous consequences of the imperialist policy of confrontation. Today, following the violation by the United States and NATO of the military equilibrium in Europe, one not only has to warn off but also draw concrete conclusions from the new situation.

It is with satisfaction and approval that we have received the proposals put forward recently by the Soviet Union concerning the prevention of the threat of nuclear war and, in particular, the proposals put forward by Comrade Konstantin Chernenko on 2 March suggesting that relations between the nuclear powers be governed by new norms.

The removal of the specter of confrontation, as well as a concrete platform for negotiations, are in the interests of the world, Europe and Poland. In a few months, the 45th anniversary of the defeat in the September campaign will be marked. It is for us a time for reflection, and this will always be so. One has to pose the question over and over again, anew, concerning Poland's international standing, concerning the state of alliances and the efficiency of guarantees; concerning the role and position of our state among the states of Europe.

The party is not concealing any serious threats that have appeared. There are still attempts to internationalize our internal problems. The so-called Polish case is appearing not for the first time. It is always so when the international situation is deteriorating and Poland is passing through a period of tensions and difficulties. Both these factors coincided in the beginning of the eighties. A weak Poland is a second-category state; a Poland disturbed and internally disarmed is encouragement for those not reconciled with the results of World War II, and perhaps even with Poland regaining its independence in 1918. This is not a simplification. Our nation has learned a good lesson from imperialism -- we saw it in action, very closely, face to face; for many people it ceased to be a notion from a textbook.

There are attempts to use the difficult situation of our country -- unceremoniously and even without white gloves -- in order to recount conditions, to force concessions, to push it into a dark corner of European policy. We have a lot of evidence of this. There are some who say that Poland is already of no importance, for which Poles themselves are to blame.

The attempt to use Poland as the first cell in the chain reaction leading to destruction of postwar territorial and political order in Europe, and consequently also to violate Polish borders, has failed. We survived this concentrated attack with the help of our socialist friends. We survived the tormenting of Poland. Today, even very slow-thinking Western politicians begin to notice that hopes for plucking Poland from the socialist community are in vain. So, the second phase is being outlined. Let the Polish train stand on a side track, let it become rusty, let it smoulder. From time to time a new charge will be laid, a new demand put forward. Perhaps, after some time, one will succeed in fanning out the sparks.

Poles have indeed committed an unforgivable sin. They did not use the right to die on their own land for someone else's interests. For this they have to be severely punished. They have to be put in dock in farcical commissions and various tribunals which clearly have nothing better to do. Our debt had to become a rod and a tool of blackmail, our traditional markets were deprived, multibillion losses were caused.

There were also some who reduced the Polish population by a million people, discovering a hitherto unknown ethnic minority. Here in this hall there are delegates from Polish Gdansk, Wroclaw and Szczecin; there are comrades from Warmia and Silesia; from Zlotow and Opole regions. They know very well the history of their struggle for the Polish character and the magnitude of Polish achievements on the land regained for the homeland. It would be a waste of time to discuss again the matters which were finally solved by the series of treaties beginning in 1970 and crowned by the CSCE Final Act.

Those who wrongly treat 1984 as 1937 cannot count on Polish naivete. We have no prejudice against the FRG. We appreciate a readiness for cooperation wherever it really takes place, where it serves European stabilization and consolidation of peace. There are mutually beneficial experiences in this regard. They are worth increasing. But the attempt to use the economic weapon for enlivening revisionist goals has nothing to do with cooperation. Today, Poland does not stand alone. It has been, and will remain, an integral part of the socialist community. Our borders are their borders. Today, the alliance of our party and our state with the CPSU and the USSR is even more significant. This is the unfailing internationalist and interstate base of our independence. This alliance exists and will remain so. It constitutes, in parallel to our own defensive potential, a treaty-based military and political foundation guaranteeing the inviolability of our borders. It would be difficult for Poland to come through such a difficult testing time without the sympathetic and effective assistance of the land of the soviets. It proferred us its hand at the most difficult time. It agreed to an unplanned-for increase in supplies of the most needed raw materials and other goods. It continues to say that it has nothing against the temporary imbalance in the trade balance. It granted to Poland the biggest credits there have been in the mutual history between the two countries.

Every now and then we hear the ironic grumblings of people ill-disposed toward us: The Soviet Union gives help, but things are still difficult in Poland. This is a manifestation of downright clinical thoughtlessness. It is enough to ask how the Polish economy would look today if we had to buy on Western markets, crude oil, gas, cotton, and iron ore for hard currency, and what the losses would be if Poland were entirely dependent on the favor, or lack of favor, of Western partners. We will not forget that the Soviet comrades and the Soviet people gave us this assistance. [applause] It enabled us to get through the worst, and today it enables us to think more calmly about the future.

Other socialist countries also adopted a friendly and understanding attitude to our problems. The confidence in us shown by the fraternal parties has been, and still is, evidence of internationalism. They had reason to be worried by the international aspect of the events in Poland. They did not conceal their doubts, but at the same time they showed understanding for our methods of overcoming the crisis, for the specific conditions of our nation, and for our independent and sovereign decisions. Our party reciprocates this political and moral credit of confidence by being whole-heartedly tied to the principles of proletarian internationalism and by acting consistently for the cohesiveness of the socialist community.

Poland's regaining its previously weakened credibility among the fraternal countries is one of the key achievements of the past 2 years. The socialist political and defensive coalition is of fundamental importance for the Polish raison d'etat. This piece of truth takes on new importance at a time when American missiles targeted on Poland are being installed on the other side of the Elbe and when the U.S. Government continues to persecute Poland with restrictions and carries on its propaganda attacks. The Warsaw Pact is and remains an expression of defensive integration. It has passed the test of history and has proven its indispensability for the entire socialist community. During the course of almost 30 years it has invariably been a condition for our Polish security, too. Poland has made a conscientious contribution toward its cohesion and potential. We will continue doing this in the future.

Our country is an important, but only one of many, section of the world front of class struggle. Our activities, and the course that Polish matters take, are not only an internal matter. Even in countries that are thousands of kilometers away from Poland, our problems and solutions are the subject of lively discussion in communist and workers' parties and in liberation movements. Some of them recognize 13 December as being an important date in their own calendar. We have explained to the comrades from many communist and workers' parties the source of the economic and social crisis in Poland, its complexity, its class-based background, and also the indispensability of the extraordinary measures taken. The decisive majority of these parties understand our policies and have supported us and still do so today.

The Politburo proposes that the conference addresses a message to the world communist and workers' movement. We wish to support activities in defense of peace, a peace that is being threatened, and to make the assurance that Poland and socialism are indivisible concepts. [applause] The anti-Polish role of the so-called opposition stands out objectively, in particularly bold relief, against this backdrop. Whether it likes it or not, today it plays the role of someone who serves alien interests. It does not serve the Polish cause. Anticommunism is today one of the main methods of dismantling the consciousness Poles have of their statehood. Paralyzing gas has to be manufactured and delivered to the battleplace. This costs. Aggressive anticommunism is as cheap as borsch, but, after all, its effect is similar. The bankruptcy of the indigenous anticommunist trends has been revealed in full. They have shown their mercenary and venal nature as willing servants of world imperialism. The Polish right wing has shown yet again that its egotistical interests depart profoundly from the interests of Polish statehood. All the enemies of socialism can afford is the philosophy of negation, a handful of primitive cliches. The posthumous alliance between the national democrats [endecja] and the Pilsudski group [sanacja] proves it is better than anything else.

Many citizens have less and less illusions regarding the West. Public opinion polls prove it convincingly. However, the ignorance persisting in some communities, and the carefree attitude in the face of growing threats to Poland's international position and its future destiny, cannot but be alarming. Some citizens give the impression of having exhausted their ability to think patriotically by having strained themselves singing patriotic songs.

Many times in our history Poles were able to mobilize all their strength when clouds began to gather over the country. Ours is a nation that twice lost its statehood, so this ability was, as it were, in its bloodstream. Differences and the settling of old scores took a secondary place then. This virtue must today be proclaimed most forcefully, since time is not on our fatherland's side.

Esteemed comrade delegates, let us recall: In this same hall, during the hot days of the ninth congress, we had the memorable slogan: We will defend socialism as we would Poland's independence. We have kept our word. The People's Republic did not embark upon the old road of Polish failures. By the might of its collective will, it stopped the looming catastrophe. There is more ahead than behind us. But today we can look the working class, all Poles, straight in the eyes and say after Lenin: There is such a party. It did not get scared of the enemy. It did not yield to difficulties. It started the great patriotic rescue and national revival movement. It proved that it does exist and that it knows how to become a worthy heir of the century-old heritage of the Polish workers' movement. The second half of the term of the central party authorities is starting. On the horizon is the 10th party congress. It is the question of the PZPR's responsibility to be able to say at the 10th congress: We have consolidated socialism just as we have consolidated Poland's independence. The party tilling does not begin on fallow land. But it will consume a great deal of abundant toil. The targets ahead of us are vast:

First target: to overcome to the end the economic crisis; to overcome poverty, dreariness, everyday worries; to consolidate and expand the premises for further development.

Second target: to rebuild fully and guard vigilantly the ties between the party and the working class, with the working man, to become the supreme guardian of social justice.

Third target: to strengthen the socialist state, its internal and external security, the rule of law and discipline, to combat all evil.

Fourth target: to march unflinchingly along the road of socialist reforms in the economy, in the state and social life, to deepen their democratic and humanitarian contents.

Fifth target: to develop and consolidate national accord.

Sixth target: to go over, on the entire front, to an ideological offensive, to conquer new areas of social consciousness, above all in the young generation.

Seventh target: to achieve tangible progress, in science, education and culture.

Eighth target: to consolidate Poland's place in the socialist community, to deepen friendship with the Soviet Union, to be an active participant in the struggle for peace and coexistence as well as international cooperation.

During the accountability-election campaign we carried out a review of the party forces. The progress made in its ideological, moral, political, and organizational consolidation makes it possible to embark on these difficult targets. This consists of the efforts on the part of selfless aktivists, the contribution of the entire party, reviving its forces, closing its ranks. Before the fatherland our merits are shared by friends from the ZSL and the SD, members of lay religious movements, millions of nonparty citizens, trade unionists, social workers, veterans of struggle and labor, all patriots.

The Politburo report contains many critical, sometimes bitter, evaluations. In the past shortcomings were mentioned with timidity, so as to not provide ammunition for the enemy. We are breaking with this habit. The greater the progress, the better the life in Poland, the more critically and determined we must refer to the still unresolved problems, our errors and negligence.

This is the best way to prevent us falling asleep, from being drunk with success. Even if socialist Poland should become a land flowing with milk and honey, the bourgeois propaganda will still play the barrel-organ. In fact we know in advance that even before this conference started they were given the task of pontificating, irrespective of the facts, on the alleged crisis in the party and to select only the phrases that could feed them.

We have to account not to the enemy but to the Polish working class, to the working man, to our nation. Socialism has been castigated since the first years of its existence. How often was its early downfall predicted? But socialism continues to grow, consolidating itself in the world and in Poland. It knows how to defend itself, to overcome errors, to find the proper course while on the move. And it is also the sole future of our homeland.

We did not arrive on this earth yesterday. The roots of our idea reach deep down into the history of the nation. Through the proletarian, plebeian party they traverse the centuries of wrong done to the peasants: workers' poverty, popular rebellion, and anger. It is we, our party, none other, which inherits the ideas and the testament of the generation of Polish pioneers of socialism.

In accordance with the resolution of the ninth congress, of the centenary of the Polish worker movement, the Politburo submits to the conference a proposal for creating an honorary party decoration in memory of Ludwik Warynski. It would be awarded to comrades who have at least 25 years of membership behind them; who have to their credit a specific, personal contribution to the development of the party, to production, social, or state activity; scientific or cultural creative work. The Politburo also deems it useful to have drawn up as quickly as possible a working project of the history of the PZPR, and also a popular and scientific outline of the history of Poland. These works must be in accord with the Marxist-Leninist methodology, based on the current state of the most recent research, profoundly honest and objective. They will be, among many other activities, a symbol of our party's return to the sources, to the origins of our movement and its best traditions; to the formula, eternally present in our party, of agreement and struggle.

The class enemy says that socialism cannot be reformed. Indeed, there is no place in it for such reforms that would divert Poland from socialism; to drag Poland backward. Today there is no problem of its being unreformable. There is the problem of the time, effectiveness and aptness of the reforms aimed at perfecting and strengthening socialism, corresponding to the dialectic of the present stage of social development in Poland. Only the counterrevolutionary extreme is unreformable in Poland. It has understood nothing and has learned nothing. Our party draws its wisdom and its strength from the most vital sources of the Polish people. These sources are primarily the collective wisdom and will of the Polish working class, the everlasting lessons of our revolutionary theory. The creative line of the ninth congress is winning. The line of the ninth congress will conquer! [applause]

Messner Economic Report

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[Economic report by Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner at the 16 March PZPR National Delegates Conference at Congress Hall in Warsaw -- live]

[Text] Esteemed comrade delegates, esteemed guests: More than 2 and 1/2 years have gone by since the ninth party congress. During this period the view about its exceptional importance in the molding of a new strategy for the socioeconomic development of Poland has been confirmed.

In conditions of acute political struggle and of the gradual anarchization of life in Poland the PZPR formulated a constructive program to overcome the crisis and start up development processes. This program envisaged, above all, the curbing of downward trends in the economy as a result of which the public's standard of living was declining. Tidying up the investments front, the restoration of market equilibrium, the reorientation of the directions of economic cooperation with foreign countries toward the countries of the socialist community, and the gradual resolution of payments problems were recognized as the main tasks.

The reform of the system for the guidance and functioning of the economy whose characteristic feature is the socialization of the planning processes and increasing the participation of work forces in the management of enterprises was meant to become an important means to help implement these basic aims. The resolutions of the ninth congress also defined the basic aims and tasks of social policy. The guarantee of a social protective cover for families in the most difficult material conditions was recognized as being an exceptionally important matter. High importance was placed on observances in daily practice of the socialist principles of social justice. The resolutions of the party were based on a solid diagnosis of the situation which was contained in the government report on the state of the economy. The government also presented a concrete program for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the economy as well as directions for the projected reform. These three documents developed and approved by the ninth congress constituted an integrated program of action for the administration and for the work forces.

Under the leadership of General Jaruzelski the government immediately set about implementing the program with the best possible determination and consistency. Particular attention was concentrated on key sections of the economy. In other words: coal extraction, increasing agricultural production, the activization of procurement, the supply of basic commodities to the population and the development of export production. During this difficult period work was also in progress to prepare final solutions for the economic reform. These were subjected to broad social consultation. A decree adopted by the Sejm on state enterprise and workers' self-government was implemented. Assumptions for reform in procurement and retail prices were drawn up. A revamping of the central administration and changes in the methods and style of the central administration's activities also began. The tremendous and quite simply extraordinary efforts undertaken by the party and government after the ninth congress did not yield the expected effects, however, and could not yield them.

The economy was still the arena of political struggle. The process of its anarchization intensified in line with the slogan: The worse, the better. We all have a picture of those days in our minds. Production broke down; the links between town and country were severed; there were fewer and fewer goods on the market; we lost credibility in foreign trade with every passing day. Then, with the idea of supporting the internal opponent, we were gradually deprived of the possibilities of taking out loans. As a result, we finished 1981 with a drop in the national income of 12 percent and the period 1980-81, with a drop of more than 17 percent. Industrial production and labor productivity dropped 14 percent, production in building construction dropped 20 percent, the procurement of meat dropped 26 percent, the commodity gap on the internal market amounted to about Z500 billion, housing construction dropped 13 percent and for the 2 years 1980 and 1981, as much as 35 percent. We ended up with a drop in professional and civic discipline, with a cut in working time and with a violent increase in crime.

The continuation of such a tragic course of events threatened the material existence of society; it threatened economic ruin, a national disaster. In view of this responsibility, it was the duty of the party and the authorities to halt this process. Thus the state of war came about.

Esteemed comrades, the introduction of martial law [stan wojenny] was a turning point. It could not, however, mean that the disproportions that had grown in the seventies could be immediately overcome or that the enormous losses could be automatically recouped. The difficult situation of the Polish economy was additionally complicated by the restrictions imposed on our country, undertaken by some Western countries and particularly the American Administration. In the intention of their authors, they were to help achieve goals that could not be implemented with the aid of counterrevolutionary forces. These calculations, however, went wrong. The Western restrictions did however cause the economy and society losses reaching many billions. They held back and hampered the process to overcome the crisis. In the most difficult moments, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries came to our aid. Thanks to increased supplies from the Soviet Union, industry was kept going, as well as the basic sectors of the economy. The additional supplies from the CEMA countries of many goods that met the needs of the population were created for the implementation of the ninth congress resolutions to accelerate the introduction of the economic reform by the beginning of 1982. The process of introduction was undertaken despite acute disproportions in the economy, a lack of the appropriate reserve, and the economic restrictions imposed on Poland. This was the most eloquent expression of the determination of the party to continue the program of renewal and reforms initiated by the ninth congress.

By the end of 1982 the Sejm approved a number of bills amending the system governing the management and functioning of the economy. These bills created conditions and mechanisms that helped to release the activity and initiative of the working people, and to increase their joint responsibility for economic development and social progress. Enterprises have won organizational independence. Demands in the field of self-financing of economic activity have increased. Workers' self-management has begun its statutory activity.

After the introduction of martial law, conditions were created to halt the reverse unfavorable production trends. The first signs that the economic situation had improved occurred in mining and in other raw material industries. In the second half of 1982 some revitalization was noted in the processing and construction industries. The basic task for 1983, and for the following years, was to transform the first signs of improvement into a permanent development trend. The 3-year socioeconomic plan for 1983-85 served the objective and in itself reflected the basic approach to the country's socioeconomic development planning adopted by the ninth congress of the party. The various plan provisions were subjected to broad discussion, and social consultation in which party branches and organizations, and work forces participated. The plan provided for decisive improvement in management effectiveness, increase of social productivity by about 12 percent, a faster rate of reduction in the use of raw materials, achievement of positive balance in trade turnover with capitalist countries. It provided for increase in market and export production with a stable level of investment outlays. The plan also ensured more independence in supplying foodstuffs to the nation.

An integral part of the national socioeconomic plan are the anti-inflationary government programs that contain a complex of undertakings indispensable to the achievement of production growth and restoration of economic equilibrium. All work enterprises have been bound over to introduce the programs. The first year in the implementation of the 3-year plan indicates that though conditions were worse than expected at the ninth congress because of reduced reinforcement of the economy with production means, measurable progress has been achieved.

In 1983 after 4 years of downward trend, we achieved a 5 percent increase in national income. It was also the year that the downward trend in living standards was halted and there was even some increase in average real wages.

Results of the past year are impossible to be assessed positively, because if we look at them from the statistical point of view the assessment on the whole will be favorable -- however, when we look at last year's results from the point of view of trends in the development of economic processes, and also from the point of view of influence on the general economic balance, the assessment becomes more complex, and not always positive. Some signs should be assessed as completely unfavorable for the country's further economic development.

It is true that industrial production has increased by 6.7 percent, considerably above the plan. However, it must be noted that toward the end of 1983, above all during the fourth quarter, this trend was losing momentum. This was due to the partial exhaustion of simple possibilities for the restoration of the output level and to the increasing difficulties as regards imports from the capitalist countries. One should regard the trend toward a high rate of production of technical means for agriculture and the food economy as favorable. It has exceeded the average pace of industrial production growth. Good results were achieved last year also in plant production, above all production of cereals, sugar beet, oleaginous plants, vegetables and fruit.

We assess positively the appreciable over-fulfillment of the housing plan. But there is concern for increasing costs in this type of construction. We have noted progress in the implementation of social construction. Among others, 4,700 hospital beds have been handed over for use. The number of schools, nurseries and kindergartens has increased. It is true that the imbalance on the home market supplies of food made it possible to meet the rations in full. Thanks to the activation of production we have been gradually discontinuing rationing. This has applied to cleaning agents, cigarettes, and other commodities.

Last year the government adopted several decisions and embarked on a number of actions designed to modernize light industry as well as activate other spheres of market production. These decisions are already bearing fruit. There was development of trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which was of advantage for us. Very helpful is the fact that we were able to import goods from the Soviet Union exceeding our export possibilities. The adverse balance sheet in turnover has in fact been met by government credits. Guided consistently by the Ninth PZPR Congress, the government engaged in an active social policy, attaching special importance to social benefits and protecting families and persons in the most difficult financial situation.

During the period of time since the ninth congress, despite a difficult economic situation, we carried out a three-tier reform of family allowances, tied to the relevant increases of these benefits. Our assistance was particularly tangible as regards families with more than one child. Paid leave was introduced enabling mothers to bring up small children at home. The alimony funds from state sources has been increased.

After broad social consultations a system of old age and other pension benefits has been implemented. A general updating of old age and other pensions has taken place in 2 years. A system for their permanent updating will be introduced. This will prevent the problem of the so-called old portfolio occurring in the future. A lasting old age pension scheme has also been introduced for private farmers. This is financed mainly from all-social funds. Shortened working hours have been kept despite the fact that the conditions of crisis and the great public expectations that they will be overcome justify different decisions in this matter. In the mining industry, where, in accordance with the government decision, a 6-day week is being observed, special preferential treatment has been created for the miners. In other branches of industry working on free Saturdays is voluntary. At the same time, conditions have been created to take up work on those days according to beneficial incentive schemes.

The government has also taken up activities aimed at the professional activization of the population, in particular old age and other pensioners and also mothers on maternity and upbringing leave. This is facilitated by, among other things, decisions concerning factory economic groups and pay raises which at the same time would not cause reductions in old age benefits. While decisions on retail prices of foodstuffs have been adopted, families in the most difficult material conditions have been protected with special care. Appropriate compensatory financial arrangements have been introduced. The protection of health services has been looked into with particular care along with the supply of medicines. These have been covered by the pertinent government operational program. The production of medical equipment has also been covered by government orders and preferential economic treatment. The cultural development fund has been established. Exceptional efforts have been undertaken in order to increase the production of books. During 1982 and 1983 their production went up by more than 60 million copies, that is, by more than 45 percent.

Comrade delegates, during the first year of the 3-year plan it has not been possible to attain the desired results everywhere. Planned investment outlays were exceeded considerably by as much as 16 percent. At the same time, the plan to complete investment projects for use has not been fulfilled. Existing economic instruments turned out not to be effective enough for the central management of the whole process. In investment activities there still have been negative phenomena such as deconcentration of means, delays in the implementation of plans and their expansion, and, in relation to the plan, a deterioration of the technological structure of the outlays. The scope of investment projects in the sphere of modernization has been small and not sufficient to satisfy essential needs.

The task of restricting the rate of inflation has not been fulfilled either. A rate of about 16 percent was envisaged in the plan. Last year there was a considerable excess of pay and price increases as compared with the plan. The scale of this extreme excess is proof that the pressure to raise pay was particularly difficult to tackle.

Modifications made to some of the solutions and economic mechanism by the beginning of this year create conditions for improvements in this area. A comprehensive plan for a central system to govern the interdepartmental and interindustrial pay ratios remains to be worked out. The sharp edge of the struggle against inflation has been blunted as a result of inconsistent implementation of the policy of the so-called tight money. This resulted in enterprises not being forced by economic means to limit pay levels not justifiable by increases in production and labor productivity. Exceeding the planned level of investment expenditure made it more difficult to achieve changes in the structure of industrial production. The increase in production for the domestic market, where shortages of many industrial goods continued to appear, has been insufficient. The progress in implementing the economies program has to be regarded as unsatisfactory. A significant number of enterprises have treated the problem in a formal manner, without a real analysis of the existing conditions. Some enterprises also display a lack of interest in undertaking or initiating research and implementation tasks for the purpose of introducing modern design and technology solutions. The ties between the scientific base and economic practice have also become weakened. The implementation of research results and inventions has dropped in number.

In 1983 no improvement in the quality of industrial goods took place. This was influenced by objective factors, among others the need for enterprises to adjust to the fall in imported supplies, because it forced the manufacturers to use substitute materials and components. The technical conditions of machinery and equipment also deteriorated. Shortages in the employment of qualified personnel became more obvious.

The drop in the level of quality was also influenced by subjective causes, that is, negligence in the organization of production, ineffective use of incentive systems, nonobservance of established standards for product quality, and inappropriate enterprise and ministerial control of production quality. In unbalanced market conditions the qualifying criteria for acceptance and the demands of the trade also fell. The persisting processes of economic imbalance continue to be accompanied, despite a decrease in the magnitude and frequency of appearance, by economic crimes, as well as ordinary wastage, negligence, and bad organization of work. Changes in the social conscience are taking place too slowly. Declarations about understanding the state's economic difficulties are not accompanied by an increase in civic responsibility.

This has been confirmed by the work results of the territorial operational groups. It is confirmed by the results of inspections by the Supreme Chamber of Control and the fiscal apparatus, as well as the daily analyses of the situation in the country conducted through party and administrative channels.

Comrade delegates, in general the results achieved in the years 1982-83 confirm the soundness of the choice of concept made by the ninth congress to overcome the economic crisis and normalize the life in the country. It has been achieved as the result of an extensive program of reforms in individual branches of the economy, far-reaching modifications in the legal system, and moving from short-term operational actions to planned actions subordinated to the adopted strategy of development. In the course of realization of the program, however, numerous obstacles arose, both objective and subjective in nature.

Our political enemies are trying to make use of economic difficulties in the political struggle. They depict catastrophic visions of economic disaster; at the same time they urge a decrease in the rate of production and unrealistic demands.

Our main tasks are to overcome the existing barriers and concentrates around breaking through the existing economic and social difficulties. This will be the subject of the government's work in the next 2 years. Priority will be given to all activity to stabilize the economy in full, overcome the crisis and achieve economic equilibrium. At the same time we consider it vital to define the prospects of development in the period of the next 5 years and in the years after that. Possibilities for the realization of long-term aims that take account of economic needs and social aspirations will be dependent on the extent of the balance in the state economy in 1984-85 and its ability to achieve the necessary dynamics of development. The principal roads that lead to this objective are: First, to strengthen economic pressure on enterprises to increase production, lower costs, raise labor productivity, progress in economical management of power and fuels and materials and components, and improve quality and proper management of production assets. Second, to restore market equilibrium and to counter inflation, in particular by correctly shaping the incomes of enterprises and the incomes of workers in close relation to the achieved production results and improvements in economical management. Third, to strengthen the enterprises' interest in creating and making use of scientific, technical, and organizational progress. Fourth, to create conditions and mechanisms for structural changes in the economy that better suit the structure of production and investment for public needs. Fifth, to raise export production and increase Poland's role in the international division of labor.

Esteemed comrades, the restoration of monetary-market balance and struggle against inflation should be taken as one of the leading tasks. It should be stressed that the significance of this problem goes beyond the immediate market supply, because the phenomenon of imbalance also makes more difficult the effective functioning of economic reform, the mechanisms of which do not work in the correct way under these conditions and even undergo deformations.

This concerns above all the incentive function of wages, the system of prices, the quality of production and the relation between the producers and the consumers. The state of imbalance is also the principal source for pervasive speculation, corruption and favoritist access to goods in short supply and all the negative phenomena in the trade. A growth in industrial goods production and market supply is the subject of particular concern to the government. We are aware that in spite of the progress achieved, there remains a lot of unfulfilled needs. On the basis of this, the noted phemomena of speculation and bribery are born. However, the struggle against these phenomena would be easier with a quicker growth in market production. The government is taking and intends to continue taking action aimed at its increase. Difficulties in supply and production, however, mean that this year, and probably next year also, production will not be fully able to keep up with the needs.

In order to ensure the necessary market supply of essential goods to satisfy the requirements of the population and private agriculture, the operational programs that ensured the needed level of supplies during the most difficult period of the past few years have been retained. In 1984, the range of market goods covered by government orders has been extended, among other things, to toiletries and some products of the light and electrical engineering industries. In respect to some goods, this year the level of market supply in 1979 will be clearly exceeded. This, for example, applies to rotary washing machines, automatic washing machines, sewing machines, color television receivers, and farm tractors. If in spite of such a significant increase in supply many of these products are still not continuously available for sale, this can only be the consequence of a high rise in demand, inflation processes, and general and sector imbalance. The enterprises producing market goods are given credit assistance toward increasing their production and have many opportunities available to them, including funds from the state vocational stimulation fund, and income tax and amortization (?contributions) to the budget. [as heard] It should be said that the enterprises that produce consumer goods approach the matter of production increase with understanding, taking in full government orders as well as trade orders.

However, the insufficiently active meeting of market needs can be improved. Making full use of the possibilities to increase production is the duty of management and should be an object of concern for the party organizations, employee self-management and the trade unions. Increasing the industrial production of consumer goods in many cases requires additional imports of materials and components. This above all concerns products made by the light and electrical engineering industries. In the last few days the government has already assigned for this purpose some of the reserves envisaged in this year's central material stock balances. It has also ordered an analysis of possibilities to obtain further means for importing supplies for market production. If it turns out to be advisable and useful for the market, the possibility of increasing the export of some consumer market goods will be examined as an interim measure, provided that the materials obtained in exchange will enable us, after processing, to improve the supply of the domestic market with interest. The government also counts on a quicker rise in the supply of sought-after market goods by small-scale manufacturers and halting the regression in services. At a joint session of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the Democratic Party Central Committee Presidium held in December 1983 the stability of the principles of policies regarding this area of our economy were confirmed. The government is implementing them consistently. It is envisaged that there will be an increase in the share of small-scale manufacturing industry and the crafts industries in national industrial production. The existing economic instruments are gradually directing the activities of the small-scale manufacturing industry at satisfying the basic needs of the home market.

The specific features of the small-scale manufacturing industry ought to be taken advantage of here; in other words, the ability to adapt rapidly and flexibly. At the same time the small-scale manufacturing industry should reject forms that allow the violation of law and order [praworzadnosc], excessive profits, and the production of superfluous or poor quality articles. A number of instances of this type of activity have been observed, in Polonia firms among others. These instances include the buying of useful Polish raw materials, the disorganization of the labor market, and excessive, unjustified costs. It must be stated clearly that the good and honest activities of these firms that are in keeping with social needs will be supported. The government will not tolerate law and order being violated.

The supply of foodstuffs, particularly of processed and unprocessed meat, is an important element in the current market situation. As is well known, the payments situation, which has been more difficult in the past few years, is forcing us to base animal breeding first and foremost on our own feed. The unsuccessful harvest of the bulk of feed crops in the 1982-83 economic year, as well as markedly reduced feed imports brought about a precipitious drop in animal breeding in 1983. Hoping to improve the situation, considerable increases to procurement prices were made in the middle of 1983, thus increasing the profitability of agricultural production and creating conditions favoring the fuller exploitation of production resources in agriculture.

In the second half of 1983 there were signs that the drop in animal breeding was slowing down. So as to give support to this trend, feed assistance to animal breeders was introduced in February 1984. The government intends to continue to give support to the process of restoring animal breeding and at the same time to create conditions favoring an increase in plant production. The rate at which animal breeding is built up again depends above all on biological factors and feed supply. We expect there to be a restricted supply of animals for slaughter throughout the whole of this year. There might be a certain increase in this supply at the end of this year and the beginning of next year at the earliest. In this connection we have decided, despite all the payments problems, to increase the import of meat in the 1984 plan.

In the first few months of the year we made a further above-plan increase in this import of 30,000 metric tons even though this will restrict the possibilities of making purchases to supply industry. In accordance with the resolution of the 14th plenum of the party's Central Committee, the government is firmly convinced that the ration card supply norms that are in force cannot be reduced. The decisions that have been taken ought also to ensure meat supplies to factory and school cafeterias and to other social institutions.

Esteemed comrades, to effectively combat inflationary phenomena which are a burden for the public requires not only that there be an increase in the production and supply of goods and services to the home market but also that the requisite ratio be maintained between supply and the monetary incomes of the population. Taking advantage of the experience of last year, the scope of reductions and preferences has been markedly restricted this year to forge a closer link between an increase in pay and an increase in production and labor productivity. This is an essential condition for an effective struggle against inflation and market imbalance. One must therefore take into account that the presently binding solutions may cause and are causing, temporarily, tensions and difficult problems in some enterprises.

The way to solve those problems is through an increase in socially-needed production, a curtailment of superfluous employment, especially in the administration of enterprises, an improvement in quality, the elimination of waste and the streamlining of labor organization.

An important instrument of progress along that road can and should be the introduction of factory systems of remuneration, in accordance with the act recently passed by the Sejm. This act lays the foundation for enterprises to set up their own pay systems adapted to local needs and conditions. The creation of factory pay systems is a particularly responsible matter. They should guarantee a genuine link between the inputs and outputs of work and its remuneration. This requires that pay be based on certain standards and that effective sanctions be introduced for infringing work discipline and quality. In a word, implementation consistent with the worker's sense of justice of the just principle: pay according to work.

This demands exceptionally painstaking preparation in every factory, and also multilateral consultation with the entire work force. The Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Welfare, which has been entrusted with supervising the implementation of the act, will give far-reaching methodological help to factories working out their own pay systems and will popularize good experiences in this area. We are also counting on the involvement of socioprofessional organizations in this matter, in particular, the Supreme Technical Organization, the Polish Economic Society, and the Scientific Organization and Management Society.

The government thinks that an exceptionally important trend of activity is the rationalization of employment. The acute shortage of manpower has become, in many spheres of the economy, a real barrier to an increase in production and, in many cases, the cause for its drop. On the other hand, however, the almost universal call for new employees is accompanied by a generally low use of working time, amounting in practice to an average of some 35 hours a week. Improvement in the use of working time is still one of the simplest and cheapest ways to increase production in factories that have appropriate supplies at their disposal.

The statistics on low overtime figures are very significant, showing less than 2 percent of those employed. For instance in the GDR the same index is eight times higher than in Poland.

A rational growth of wages and of other money income and their closer indexing to production growth, productivity, and market supplies also constitutes a condition guiding the price policy and preventing their excessive growth. The intention of the government is to restrict to the indispensable minimum the increase of prices for basic articles of general use. In some cases the increase of these prices is, however, necessary, in particular when they fail to meet production costs. In our economy unfortunately there are still many commodities sold below production costs. We do not plan to change their prices in a radical manner. We plan to subsidize some goods as a long-term policy for social considerations. The indispensable price changes must be introduced gradually, after the necessary preparations. We intend at the same time to make changes in the prices scale, dependent all the time on the pace of the increase of wages and other money incomes, seeing that their real purchasing power was not reduced.

It is also imperative to gradually rearrange the price scale, since prices should reflect production costs on one hand and on the other the relations between supply and demand. Not everybody wants to understnd this. The view prevails that prices can be fixed arbitarily. Such a concept leads, however, to the infringement of economic rule: Furthermore, some enterprises that benefit from increased rights, thanks to the introduction of balanced prices, have attempted to get, undeservedly, high profits. An example was given today by General Jaruzelski. This was a glaring example. In order to prevent this we have introduced the norm of taking over excessive profits through taxation, among other ways, and earmarking them for important social purposes. The government plans to continue with increasing efficiency the policy of reducing year by year the pace of retail price increases, realizing the adverse social results of high inflation. But it is difficult to restrain inflation when a part of the community have at their disposal a money surplus exceeding current needs, while another part has visibly lowered their standard of living.

In this situation the prices policy must take into consideration the material differentiation among the individual groups of the population. In line with the results of the social consultation on prices, the government plans to exploit the turnover tax, mainly as regards articles recognized in the present situation as above standard, and not increasing at the same time or increasing at the minimum level, the prices for general-use articles. We expect that this will meet with social understanding and acceptance. The restoration of the goods and money equilibrium will gradually make possible the end of distribution and rationing and will create a normal market in which the consumer will have free choice of goods and services.

Striving for an improvement of market equilibrium the government will wage with determination a fight against speculation and other kinds of economic crime.

A successful way to combat economic crime, besides the application of economic regulations, is the increase of maximum penalties against speculators.

Comrades, an important factor that at present affects the ever-worsening monetary and market situation and thus increases the rate of inflation is the unfavorable development of investment activity. Quite strong pressure has appeared from economic organizations and regional authorities, and from other links of the economy, to increase investment activity, and among newly undertaken operations there are too few modernization investments. Enterprises are willing to undertake investments on a larger scale than is made possible by the balanced development of the economy. On the other hand, in the current system of indirect management, solutions so far have not been formulated that will make it possible to adapt the level of investment to the possibilities of the economy. Hence, high, excessive outlays last year were one of the main reasons for the awakening of the inflationary processes. The government sees and appreciates the threats resulting from a development of this kind in the investment situation, and taking firm counteraction against the most damaging aspects. This would be achieved with the aid of economic instruments and mechanisms. In accordance with regulations recently adopted by the Council of Ministers this year, verification and reduction of continued investments will be made, particularly those requiring long periods for completion and not promising fast production results. Steps will also be taken in order to prevent excessive undertaking of investments, and the involvement to this end of financial and material resources.

Work is also in progress to improve systemic solutions aimed at creating conditions for structural economic transformations. The restoration of monetary and market equilibrium will be accompanied by a consistently conducted policy to tighten the money supply. Its object is closer linking of growth of resources at the disposal of enterprises with production growth, its structure, and reduced production costs. The principle of "difficult" money will be implemented by mutually linked actions in the sphere of prices, wages, taxes, allowances, credits, budgetary allocations, and also limits in the availability of turnover and investment credits. In the sphere of investment, credit should become a factor of verification and reduction of continued investments. It is intended that credit will be used to a greater degree to implement the savings program, and to improve the quality of production. It will be carried out by refusal of credit for development requirements and investments to enterprises in which output consumes excessive energy and materials, and also to enterprises that produce poor quality goods.

The ability of enterprises to pay back credits on time will be assessed more severely and with close observance of regulations on the improvement of state enterprises management and liquidation. The first examples of this are visible in practice.

Esteemed comrades, a factor of particularly great importance for the development of the country's economic situation is foreign trade. In relations with fraternal countries of the socialist community high dynamics of mutual trade turnover constitutes a reflection of development of economic integration processes and deepening of international labor division.

We shall be striving in that direction consistently and persistently. The process of reorientation has already brought about visible results. In Poland's turnover of goods in 1983 the share of socialist countries rose considerably, and that of the Soviet Union in particular. In view of trade agreements that have been signed, a growing exports trend will be maintained in 1984. A foreign trade deficit will be maintained in goods turnover with the Soviet Union. Our imports will be 15 percent higher than our exports. It is possible, thanks to the Soviet Union maintaining its credit assistance to our country in 1984. The structure of goods turnover with the Soviet Union is beneficial. Poland will mainly export machines and equipment and import fuel, raw materials, agricultural produce and foodstuffs, and consumer goods. Last year the speed with which the increase of exports dropped, followed by a decreasing rate of imports from capitalist countries, constituted a negative phenomenon. If this trend continues this year the dangers for our economy would increase, even more so since in the balance of payments the size of payments to creditors will go up. It should be stressed that this year we would like to regulate in a comprehensive manner the refinancing of our debts both with commercial banks and Western governments.

We have entered 1984 with a more difficult situation in foreign trade than had been the case so far. In order to overcome these difficulties the government has undertaken a number of measures aimed at developing and improving the quality of exports through certain preferential treatment, such as tax relief, credit facilities, and financial agreements that create incentives to increase exports. The principle of self-financing of enterprises, as regards hard currency, is being strengthened. More than 1,700 enterprises have hard currency accounts at their disposal. These are enterprises that produce export goods. This will be a serious source to cover the hard currency needs of a number of enterprises, including enterprises that cooperate in the production of exports goods.

Increasing our exports and improving their profitability will depend on the enterprises' speedy and proper utilization of the abovementioned mechanisms. It will depend on the leading cadres and on the work forces of the enterprises whether Polish goods find their way onto international markets and gain a solid reputation there. Important reserves exist above all in the export of products of the electromachine industry. Last year the effects of these exports were unsatisfactory. This year we are assuming not only that this drop will be made good, but that there will be a further significant increase. This task is a difficult but immensely important one. For it is a matter of the products of the processing areas of industry playing a growing role in our exports -- alongside fuels and raw and other materials -- with a bigger input of technical ideas and highly qualified work. Domestic scientific and technological progress must be stepped up, in strict correlation with the program for the development of export specializations in the Polish economy. This will be realized through appropriate economic incentives favoring the implementation of the results of research and development work and of projects for inventions, as well as through modifications in the planning system and in the system to finance research work.

The fundamental aim is to raise the opportunities for the increase within Poland and in international contacts of domestic research achievements and inventions. The draft bill on inventions, which has been adopted by the government and directed to the Sejm, also serves this purpose. It provides for an increase in the material incentives for those involved in creating and implementing scientific and technological research. In these ventures we are counting on the scientific milieus, on the employees of the colleges, the Polish Academy of Science, on the scientific and research manpower of the economy, on the entire technical intelligentsia. Their role in the process of modernizing the economy is an enormous one.

A supreme body of the state administration is soon to be set up with responsibility for technical progress and implementation policy. The implementation of the fruits of research and development work ought to further the realization of the savings program among other things. As I have already stated, the results achieved so far cannot be deemed to have been satisfactory. Reduction in the amounts of materials and energy consumed during production will also be promoted by numerous organizational and economic financing ventures, such as the introduction of technical and technological work standards, a general certification of products, and the use of various means of stimulating thrift.

Esteemed comrades, the economic reform is becoming an everyday feature of our social life. There is a gradual consolidation of the conviction that economic mechanisms represent a more effective way of stimulating the economy. Each year we assess the functioning of the principles and mechanisms of the reform. In 2 months' time a further comprehensive report on this matter will be drawn up. Following the assessment, we will decide on the essential changes and improvements of the system. The mechanisms of the reform must be helped, over the period required to overcome the profound disequilibrium and structural disproportion within the economy, by additional solutions favorable to the achievement of the desired effects. On the basis of this assumption, both at the end of 1982 and of 1983, we made a series of corrections and modifications.

We tried to avoid changes in the system during the year. However, this was not always possible. Despite the difficulties that this causes in the work of enterprises, these changes were nevertheless necessary. Some of the changes in the system were made in the form of statutory amendments. This found expression, among others, in the new formula for taxation on profits, in the considerably strict terms applied when calculating costs and prices, in imposing stricter conditions regarding requirements for granting credits, and in making the charges levied for the state professional incentive fund one of the important regulators for the growth and molding of correct earnings ratios.

The proposals for changes in the system were the subject of consultation in a large number of factories. During these consultations the advisability of the changes themselves was in general not called into question. However, the need for the principles and the mechanisms to become stabilized was stressed. Delays that took place in the issuing of certain documents showing what measures had to be taken were subject to justified criticism.

As for 1985 we do not foresee any major changes in system-based principles. We shall be carefully analyzing the effect that system-based solutions have on the activities of enterprises and we shall subject them to such controls that ensure that this activity is in accordance with the aims of the national socioeconomic plan. We shall require that enterprises keep to these aims because general social aims are superior to anything else. We expect work forces to show understanding for this fact. And above all we expect from the management cadres of enterprises that through the wisdom and consistency of their activities these aims will be implemented.

We should also improve organizational solutions in industry. Some of these are such that they do not suit the specific conditions of individual industrial sectors or the level and concentration of specialization and of coproduction links. It would appear to be advisable in cases that are objectively justified, for instance in the mining industry, in the power industry and in industry that processes basic agricultural raw materials, for links to be created between enterprises, combines, or others to ensure the necessary coproduction and organizational forms. We do not wish to make a hasty decision in these matters. This is the subject of study and research and of consultation among people on the practical side. We are also examining the experience of other countries in this matter.

The structure, the scope of competence and the mutual relationships between the top organs of the state administration also need to be analyzed. What must be ensured, above all, is that there are the optimum conditions for the implementation of a uniform and internally cohesive government policy and that the narrow-minded interests of ministries and industrial branches, which unfortunately still exist, are overcome and that the sometimes contradictory interests of individual social and professional groups are reconciled for the general good. With this aim in mind we shall also be improving central planning. This applies, among others, to the construction of a central annual plan. This plan ought to be an effective instrument for day-to-day guidance. It ought to ensure the improved smooth running of economic processes and improvement in their effectiveness and the achievement of equilibrium.

An integral part of the central plan are operational programs and government orders. They take in nearly one-third of production but concern spheres of priority significance for the economy and for society. The system of operational programs and government orders is linked with the guarantee of material and technical supplies and with financial reliefs and preferences. We will consolidate it in the coming years and treat it as a permanent solution in the system of functioning of the economy. It ensures in the current conditions a greater effectiveness of control through the central plan.

I want to report that work has been speeded up on the central annual plan for 1985. The Council of Ministers will be able to approve a comprehensive resolution in October, 2 months earlier than in previous years. We want, however, as early as June to define the operational plans and a considerable part of government orders in the form of decisions, especially for selected investments and scientific research and innovatory projects. This month enterprises will also receive some basic economic indices. The assumptions of the central annual plan will be published in the mass media at the end of the first 6 months and will be submitted for social consultation.

So, at the beginning of the second semester, enterprises will already be able to conclude agreements; they will have time for bargaining, for better organization; they will have guaranteed material supplies for the priority areas of management. This will create for enterprises the possibility of real planning, in accordance with general social goals and a sense of stability of action.

Esteemed comrades, the ninth party congress recognized the most important tasks to be the feeding of the nation and the expansion of housing construction. The supreme, long-term goal of agricultural policy is to achieve the country's self-sufficiency in food. This found expression in the resolution of the joint plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the Supreme Committee of the ZSL. The program for the development of agriculture and food economy to 1990 passed by the Sejm was subordinated to this goal. A confirmation of equality under the law of all sectors of agriculture is the constitutional guarantee of the permanence of family, individual farms. The role and tasks of state farms and agricultural production cooperatives have also been stressed. The priority given to the food economy has helped revitalize agricultural production. There has been a distinct improvement in supplies to agriculture of means of production, particularly coal, cement, fertilizers, and partly, too, of agricultural machinery. The consistent implementation of operational programs and government orders has enabled the guaranteed production of machinery and equipment at a level higher than in 1979. Preference given to enterprises of the food industry and socialized farms, the subsidizing of biological progress in agriculture, and the implementation of the program of high-protein feed production based on domestic raw materials have also helped increase production.

These advantageous processes result in the checking of the departure and even in an increase in farming population in the 18-44 age group. These trends will be consolidated in the next few years. The government is also embarking on measures designed to improve the utilization of the agricultural production potential and primarily the soil. A percentage of land continues to be badly cultivated. Vast reserves are still hidden. We will stimulate a rational policy in this sphere through transformations in the farming structure, ensuring the necessary conditions for an increase in the farms' areas, which would guarantee a growth of the production of marketable goods.

The increase in agricultural productivity will be assisted by measures to check the regression and to ensure the consistent implementation of the program for land improvement and water supplies to the rural areas. Already agriculture has at its disposal a fair production potential. Its proper exploitation is the fundamental task of the centers for the introduction and promotion of modern production methods, advisory services, and agricultural education. A great role is to be discharged here by the sociovocational and cooperative farmers' organizations.

The requirements of the economic reform make the increase in farmers' revenue dependent, just as in the rest of the economy, on the improvement of the effectiveness of farming and must be the result of the growth of production, reduction of costs, and an improvement of productivity, and simply the result of the prices operation. The rural areas are not just the place of work but also the place of life of millions of citizens of our country. With them in mind we embark on actions designed to improve supplies, improve the work of the health service, of culture and education.

This purpose is assisted by the program for the shaping of living conditions in the rural areas, as formulated by the government. As regards housing the government has embarked on comprehensive measures. After social consultations a housing program until 1990 has been adopted in conjunction with new principles for a housing policy. An amended premises law and the cooperative bill have come into force. More legal acts are passing through the legislative procedure. In conjunction with the PRON National Council the government has submitted to the Sejm an assessment of the implementation of the housing program and a project of further plans in this respect.

Esteemed comrade delegates, the resolving of the country's current socioeconomic problems is not the sole task of the government. The ninth party congress has instructed us to formulate a long-term PZPR program. Its component should be the definition of the directions and methods for shaping the future life of the nation. The main points of this program are well known to the comrade delegates. It is the statutory duty of the government to prepare a national socioeconomic plan for 1986-90 and a long-term plan until 1995. The assumptions of these plans will be presented to the public and the Sejm this year. Problems of future development, which I would like to summarize for the comrade delegates, are complex. They consist not only of causes and consequences of the current economic situation. Prognoses at our disposal make it imperative for us to be very careful and thorough in drafting plans for the future. Even more so as we are facing dilemmas whose resolution cannot be postponed to a more distant future.

The demographic prognoses worked out by the Main Statistical Office shows that in year 2000 there will be approximately 40 million Poles. The nation will increase in number by more than 3 million citizens. It also arises from these prognoses that a considerable increase in the numbers of young people aged 15-18 years will come in the second half of the eighties. A maximum increase in the numbers of children aged 7-14 years will be in 1990. And thus we have to build schools yet again. Approximately 2,000 new school projects will be needed. The program of educating teaching cadres will have to be appropriately adjusted to it.

The demographic prognoses also show that a number of the population in the post-production age also will be rising quickly. This will result in a need for a systematic increase of social expenditure for old age and other pensions and for health protection. A low growth rate, on the other hand, will occur regarding a number of people in the production age. At the same time it is worth stressing that there will be a reduction in the number of the groups which are most mobile, that is aged 25-29 years. In this situation there can be no question of an extensive approach to the utilization of labor reserves. It is estimated that between 1986-90 the number of the population in the production age will increase by fewer than 400,000. In view of a need to increase employment in the sector of services, it is necessary to take into account a possibility that an increase in production in many branches will have to take place without an increase in employment, and even with a decrease of employment.

We have to look at the issue of the country's abundance in raw materials in a different way. The truth is that nature has endowed Poland with a variety of minerals, most important of which are coal, sulfur and copper. Their extraction, however, is becoming increasingly difficult and expensive. Thus we will continue to develop the extraction industry, but will devote more attention to rationalization of fuel and raw material consumption. We will continue to participate in the raw materials economy of the socialist community.

The 5-year and long-term plans already drawn up must define the areas in which we aim to reduce the technological gap with the leading countries. The current difficulties and troubles cannot conceal from us the fact that the world has entered a new stage of scientific and technical development. The period of high increase in production, achieved through the technologies currently in use, is drawing to a close. New technologies, based on the large-scale utilization of microelectronics, automation, robots, and the increased use of biotechnologies, are also characteristic hallmarks of the coming age. The current state of our economy and technology can by no means free us from the work of introducing the carriers of modernity recognized in the world or from action to prevent an ineffective introduction of the new technology. The alternative would be a widening of the technological gap that would endanger the fundamental goals of our economy and would irreparably rule out Poland's achievement and its due place in the world.

We face tasks on a hitherto unprecedented scale in the sphere of environmental protection and water economy.

We cannot postpone them, calculating that coming generations will resolve them. Even now in many regions of Poland the ecological barriers of the environment's resistance have been reached and even breached, while its condition constitutes a threat to the health of the population living there. The diagnostic phase of the work on the long-term plan singled out 27 areas of ecological danger. Despite our limited economic possibilities, we adopted in the plan for 1983-85 principles of management in these areas that help arrest the degradation of the human environment. We will also continue to aim at preventing an excessive concentration of the productive forces in the threatened zones, while at the same time -- as the state of the economy improves -- expanding the scope of investment projects essential for the protection of the environment.

Until now the state of water resources as a condition for the development of the country has been underestimated. Regarding the quantity of water per capita we occupy a low, 22d, place in Europe. The quality of water is deteriorating. Already this is eliminating 30 percent of the length of our rivers from their utilization in the economy. This results not only in the need to embark on relevant investment measures, such as sewage-treatment plants and construction of water reservoirs, but also it regards the water supplies as one of the fundamental criteria in the distribution of productive forces.

The weakness of the country's transportation infrastructure may prove to be a barrier to future development. In this sphere we must undertake tasks arising from internal needs and geographical location. It is not a question of forming new, great transportation systems, but of a visible improvement in the functioning and modernization of rail, road, and water transportation.

We must also overcome the highly unsatisfactory state of telecommunications in Poland.

Equally important is the solution of export specialization for the Polish economy. We will embark on this task in close cooperation with the CEMA member-countries, the Soviet Union in particular, regarding them as an indispensible premise in resolving the socioeconomic problems of our country, both on a short-term and on a long-term basis. The strategy of our action will consist of consolidating Poland's position in the transitional spheres of export and of widening of exports on offer, based on highly processed goods of satisfactory quality.

Esteemed comrades, the measures presented here depict openly, without vagueness, the problems and possibilities of emerging from the crisis, restoring economic equilibrium, and accelerating development processes. The outlined directions constitute a continuation of the line of the ninth party congress, a development of the resolutions and their adaptation to the current stage. This is no easy program: It assumes the need for embarking sometimes on difficult decisions and also the need for full discipline regarding their implementation.

Nevertheless this is a realistic program. Its realization depends mainly on the commitment and activeness of the working class, farmers, intelligentsia, the men of science and culture, the leading state and economic cadres at all levels, in an integrated effort of the whole community. This is not just a rhetorical phrase. The comprehension of this truth is of immense importance. It is not the foreign loans or an economic miracle that will determine the future of the country. It will be determined, above all, by the quality of our work. It will be determined by the joint conviction that national reasons constitute for us Poles a superior value. [applause]

16 March Proceedings Summarized

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[Excerpt] The PUWP CC Political Bureau's report for the National Conference of Delegates was delivered by the PUWP CC first secretary, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski (the abridged text of the report is given separately).

Next, the government's report on the state of the national economy, economic reform and tasks in this respect was presented by PUWP CC Political Bureau member and Vice-Premier Zbigniew Messner (the shortened text of government's report is also given separately).

The participants in the conference started a plenary discussion during which they referred to the contents embodied in the report to the conference by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and in a government report on this country's economic problems. The delegates also presented their opinions connected with the documents submitted to the debates of the conference, among them [word indistinct] on the implementation of the resolutions passed by the 9th congress, and on the state of the implementation of the motions tabled during the debates of the 9th congress.

The discussion also concerned the PUWP ideological-programmatic declaration "What we fight for, where we are headed to", as well as the documents for discussion on a long-term programme of the PUWP. Presented were also the most significant proposals collected by the delegates before the conference, during working meetings and consultations in all milieux of the party's activities.

Also, the mandates commission at the national PUWP conference presented its information. Out of the 1835 delegates eligible for participation, the conference is attended by 1776.

A commission for motions and resolutions was constituted with Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Tadeusz Porebski as chairman.

Also set up were the following subcommittees: for resolutions related to the hitherto party results and tasks in implementation of the 9th PUWP Congress programme, chaired by Political Bureau member, CC Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski, for the PUWP ideological-programmatic declaration "What we fight for, where we are headed to", with chairman PUWP CC secretary Henryk Bednarski, for materials to discussion on PUWP perspective programme, chaired by Political Bureau alternate member Marian Orzechowski, for regulations concerning elections of PUWP delegates, authorities and control bodies, and for resolutions on party tasks in the elections to people's councils -- both chaired by Political Bureau alternate member, CC Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, and a subcommittee for resolutions on consolidation of state security in connection with increased threat to peace in Europe and the world, chaired by Political Bureau member, CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek.

28 Speakers took the floor and a speech by Bogdan Borys was the last one during the first day of the debates.

Next, exercising the right of rejoinder, the floor was taken by Wlodzimierz Olszewski, a factory worker and delegate from the Opole Voivodship. He called on all party members to join in the process of the reconstruction of the trade union movement and the PRON activity. The floor was also taken by Jilian Kraus, PUWP CC member and first secretary of the PUWP factory committee at the economy cars plant in Bielsko-Biala. He spoke about the need for more genuine and sincere statements during the discussion.

The first day of the conference ended [words indistinct] late tonight. The debates will be resumed tomorrow morning, in the conference's problem groups.

17 March Debates

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[Text] Warsaw 17 March -- A debate within 15 working groups of the nationwide PUWP Delegates Conference started here at 8.30 A.M. Warsaw time today to discuss intra-party and ideological issues, the economic reform and the economic policy, farming, youth problems, the rule of law, and international affairs, among other questions. Some 400 delegates and guests voiced willingness to take the floor during the discussion.

Experts in social, political, and economic problems, men representing culture and science, trade unionists and representatives of the country's biggest industrial plants were invited to take part in the working groups' sessions. The number of PUWP delegates attending the conference is 1,776.

The conference is scheduled to continue tomorrow.

Summary of Debates

LD181252 Warsaw PAP in English 1120 GMT 18 Mar 84

[Excerpt] Warsaw 17 March -- The time which elapsed since the 9th PUWP Congress has confirmed the correctness of resolutions adopted by the congress, said the delegates taking the floor in plenary discussion held today at the National PUWP Conference.

The functioning of the economy has undergone favourable changes, the economic reform is being implemented, the system of socialist democracy has been expanded, and improvement in the fields of science, culture and education is becoming increasingly palpable. Much has been achieved, but there is still much to be done.

The overall assessment of the past two and a half years is favourable, it was said today. The months which passed since the 9th PUWP Congress were filled with consistent implementation of its decisions. The party made good use of that time and took concrete actions aimed at overcoming the crisis. Their effects would have been bigger, it was emphasized in the discussion, were it not for the attack on the PUWP launched by enemies of socialism shortly after the conclusion of the 9th congress. However, we came off well of that difficult time. The majority of the nation came out for socialism. Being aware of that, we must remember that there are people who still view the authorities' will of agreement as weakness. Such people must be isolated.

Group Meetings Held

LD172207 Warsaw PAP in English 1730 GMT 17 Mar 84

[Text] Warsaw 17 March -- Delegates to the party national conference held discussion here today in 15 task groups. These included teams deliberating on the following issues: intrapartisan, ideological, economic norm and economic policy, agriculture, science and education, culture, welfare policy, representative organs, youth, law and rule of law, international affairs, health and environment protection, requests, complaints and signals from the nation, mining and maritime issues. The groups' sessions were attended by invited guests who included political and public activists, representatives of party milieux, of science and culture, the Sejm (parliament) committees, state administration, key industrial plants, and experts. All in all several hundred delegates took the floor in a lively and involved debate.

The discussants assessed the implementation of the decisions taken at the 9th congress and plenary meetings of the party Central Committee, and analyzed current developments. They also formulated specific conclusions, suggested directions for action in all the issues now awaiting solution, and pointed to the need to eradicate negative phenomena in the life of the nation.

Task groups worked chaired by heads of respective commissions at the party Central Committee, who are also members of the Political Bureau and the CC Secretariat.

Head of the task group for mining, Political Bureau member Jerzy Romanik, a coal miner from the Silesian town of Siemianowice, said the belief in the alleged abundance and availability of fuels and energy in Poland is simplified, and added that the continuing high share of energy-consumption in production and the national income was the reason for concern. The debaters stressed the necessity for strict economizing on the use of fuels and energy. The discussion underlined that Poland's natural resources enable her to develop a number of processing industries which could and should become the country's production and export speciality. Many speakers urged a six-day work scheme in mines, with the miners' worktime being maintained at the hitherto five days. They also stressed it is necessary to carry on investment projects in the mining and power industries.

During its debates the task group for agricultural issues, chaired by PUWP CC secretary Zbigniew Michalek, stressed that principles and aims of the agrarian policy developed and specified by the joint plenary meeting of the PUWP CC and the United Peasant Party CC are clear, lasting and approved. Much has been done since the 9th PUWP Congress to improve agriculture and this is noticeable. However, needs are still huge. Therefore, the entire national economy must invariably care for better supply of the demand of agriculture and the food industry. Hence, the party's main task is to create a climate favourable for agricultural growth. The party supports and will continue to [word indistinct] constructive forms of self-government which develop in the countryside.

Debates of the task group for internal party affairs were chaired by PUWP CC Political Bureau member and PUWP CC Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski. The opening address was delivered by Political Bureau alternate member and PUWP CC Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak. Discussion focused on those issues which mainly determine the effectiveness of party actions as the highest form of political organization of the working class. Thus, the issues which were touched upon in the first place were: fulfilling the party's leading role in society and its guiding role in the state, improving democratic mechanisms of the party activity, consolidating the principle of democratic centralism within the party, and conditions of shaping the membership, social composition and qualitative development of party ranks. Satisfaction was voiced over the party's fundamental turn towards ideological sources of Marxism and Leninism.

Questions of upbringing and educating youth and developing scientific research were discussed by the task group on science and education headed by Tadeusz Porebski, a Political Bureau member and a PUWP CC secretary. Demographic forecasts indicate that by 1990 the number of youths in the 8-to-18 age brackets will increase by more than 1,300,000 in comparison with the year 1980. Some 200,000 new teachers and at least 2,000 new schools will be necessary to meet this wave. A social fund for the construction of new schools has been proposed to help somewhat improve the situation. The group stressed it was necessary to consistently maintain the rule providing for the secular character of schools. It also noted that the percentage of students from worker and peasant families was still too low.

The session of the group for law and rule of law, chaired by member of the Political Bureau and CC Secretary Miroslaw Milewski, was also attended by the Political Bureau alternate members, Poland's defence and interior ministers, Generals Florian Siwicki and Czeslaw Kiszczak, respectively. "We share the opinion voiced by the working people, and especially by the working class, that the fight against the phenomena which are conflicting with the class character of our state and infringe the principles of social justice is still not effective enough, but we have achieved progress in stabilizing our life and in consolidating law and public order. This is where we are going to go ahead," Milewski said. Many speakers in this all-embracing debate urged the need for a more effective policy of punishing crime.

More on Group Sessions

LD180034 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1405 GMT 17 Mar 84

[Excepts] Our program is devoted to the National Conference of PZPR Delegates being held in Warsaw.

Delegates are having a busy time in Warsaw. Since this morning, the teams dealing with various problems have been in session. There are 15 such teams. Their discussion and critical analysis affect, in practice, all areas of our social, economic and political life.

Our correspondents listened in on the work of the teams; they also spoke to the participants in the debates. Slawomir Zielinski asked Tadeusz Czechowicz, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Central Committee Youth Commission, for a brief interview.

[Begin recording] [Zielinski] Which problems, which issues, have been resolved during the past 33 months and which are yet to be resolved?

[Czechowicz] The problems of the young generation have become something that is in the party's bloodstream. That is to say that these problems began to be dealt with in a wider way not only on the central level, but also on the voivodship and lower levels and in workplaces and various communities. This is, in a way, a success, because the attention of the older and middle-aged generation has been drawn to the problem of the young generation in general and of the young families in particular. This is something that is positive. Moreover, a number of actions have been embarked upon, with the aim of protecting the legislation and also the program which guarantees -- naturally enough, to the extent to which our possibilities will allow -- a proper start for young people in their jobs and in life.

[Zielinski] Why is it that when young people's problems were defined more clearly following the ninth congress and, especially, following the ninth Central Committee plenum, this became a cause for controversy?

[Czechowicz] This is because it is impossible to solve the problem of the young generation; after all, apart from the demographic peak, we also have an excess of people in post-production age, what we call the so-called third age; that is to say, people who also expect that the state will provide welfare and security care for them. Moreover, what we have to do is to deal more closely with those who currently produce the national income, those who are now in employment. One has to create material incentives and define one's preferences, since no act will be of use if we fail to increase the upward trend in production and if we fail to get our national income on a proper level. However, since young people, in conditions such as we have, do constitute a part of the whole society, one has to deal with the problem of the young generation, above all within the context of the young family. The second matter revolves round the problem of ideological and educational work, the education of the young generation in the widest sense of these concepts. If today we are unable to satisfy numerous needs of the young people, then, it seems to me, what becomes most important is the young people's participation in the model solutions which will put our economy and our domestic life in the country on the right footing. On the basis of these healthy principles, young people will join in the work for a better tomorrow for themselves.

[Zielinski] So, at the very least, what is required of the young people, is an active attitude. Since it is lacking, maybe it means that they are running from responsibility; maybe young people have a fear of responsibility?

[Czechowicz] It is clear that conditions must be created for young people, facilitating correct development of youth. This is a duty which both the state and the older generation have. But, to quote one of the participants in the discussion during our team's session: It will not be possible to lead anyone through life by the hand; each person must bear responsibility, and here I would like to appeal to young people -- the worst thing they can choose, even irrespective of their attitude to the party and the ideals of our systems, is passivity, indifference, and mere frustration. The young person must play his part in what is going on; he must be in the whirlwind of the struggle for his rights and for his future. If the young person fails to do this he will have wasted his time once and for all and he will only have himself to reproach, no one else.

Editor Maciej Slotwinski is at the microphone:

I covered the work of the team dealing with international affairs. Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo and foreign minister, delivered a very brief report at the beginning. He spoke of the extraordinarily difficult and dangerous situation in the world and especially in our continent, in Europe. He spoke of the situation that had arisen as a result of the aggressive and militarist policies of the Reagan administration. One of the main intentions and goals of this policy is to undermine the territorial and political order in Europe, created as a result of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences and confirmed in Helsinki; the order, which, it has to be borne in mind, has ensured for our continent the longest period of peace as far as the last few hundred years are concerned. As for Poland, Stefan Olszowski said, U.S. strategy has failed; it has met with a fiasco. Our state, step by step, emerges from the isolation which Washington tried to impose upon us. We have put our economic relations with foreign countries onto new tracks and we have come closer to the CEMA member-countries. Progress in the process of stabilization of life in Poland has made us again into a credible member of the socialist community.

We have another guest in our studio. Here is editor Krzysztof Gorski:

I covered the deliberations of the 10th team, dealing with law and order. Apart from the members of this team, 103 conference delegates -- invited guests and journalists -- took part in the session. Miroslaw Milewski, chairman of the Central Committee Law and Order Commission, member of the Politburo, and secretary of the Central Committee, made an introduction prior to the discussion. Among other things, he drew attention to some alarming phenomena, such as the increase in the number of certain categories of crime, among others theft and mismanagement; the downward trend in the detection rate; and widespread speculation. He also drew attention to the fact that the law is losing its value and that in numerous cases legal regulations are ineffective. The discussion revolved around many issues.

Press Conference Held

LD172221 Warsaw PAP in English 2048 GMT 17 Mar 84

["Press Conference for Foreign Reporters" -- PAP headline; by Stanislaw Filipczak]

[Text] Warsaw 17 March -- The second successive day of the conference of delegates to the 9th PUWP Congress under way in Warsaw has confirmed the convergence of the main topics raised by speakers with the issues, and the way of their presentation, touched upon by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski in his speech delivered on behalf of the PUWP Political Bureau yesterday, said Jerzy Majka, press spokesman of the conference, addressing foreign newsmen here today.

The delegates who took the floor today paid particular attention to these directions of activity which are of decisive importance for the implementation of the resolution of the 9th congress with regard to pulling the country out of difficulties, reforming the functioning of the national economy and the state, increasing the opportunities for participation in governing for ever wider segments of society, national agreement and social justice, Jerzy Majka added.

Worthy of emphasizing is the visible participation of workers in the discussions, the conference's spokesman went on. (?Their) speeches were characterized by deep concern for proper understanding for solving of the matters which are of greatest importance for the nation. This proves profound maturity and high consciousness of the working class.

The greatest stress was laid on the question of social justice, Jerzy Majka continued. Sepakers pointed out that the worse the economic situation of the country, the more strictly the principles of social justice must be observed. They postulated solutions guaranteeing equal start and equal chances for all combined with consistent adherence to the rule "to each according to his work", i.e. strict linkage with the quality and amount of work done.

As far as socio-economic issues are concerned, the delegates laid stress on the need to launch vigorous actions aimed at securing the implementaion of this year's and longer-term goals. Support was also voiced for questions related to the initial stage of introducing the new systems of wages.

Another group of problems under discussion, went on J. Majka, concerned the [word indistinct] of youth. The debaters stressed the need for showing much greater concern for the unity of the educational process and the lines of exerting influence on youth by the educational institutions. They must subordinate the entire process of education to the shaping of civic attitudes so that young people can take part on an (?increasingly) broader scale in solving Poland's problems.

The conference also pointed to a very important phenomenon of the rise in the number of persons joining the PUWP. If in the first months after the 9th congress on the average 200 persons were admitted to the party over a month, in February 1984 the number grew to as many as [words indistinct]. Young workers account for 60 percent of the newly admitted persons.

Deputy head of the PUWP CC's Department for Information Jerzy Lazarz delivered a report on the course of works in the 15 task groups debating in the forenoon today. Lazarz chaired the group collecting proposals and reports by task groups.

Lazarz said that all in all [figure indistinct] conferees, including 1,731 delegates and 787 invited guests, took part in the work of groups. 347 persons, including 278 delegates, took the floor in the session. 245 persons, including 223 delegates, submitted their statements to the minutes. 2,316 individual motions were tabled. This number included 2,138 motions tabled by delegates.

All proposals will be examined in detail and persons who forwarded them will be informed about the procedure of the further action.

Barcikowski Address

LD181813 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 18 Mar 84

[Excerpts] As we have already reported, at 1325 the PZPR National Delegates Conference ended its debate.

Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, presented to the delegates the draft resolution of the PZPR National Delegates Conference on the implementaton of the resolutions of the ninth congress. Here is his speech:

[Begin Barcikowski recording] I am to present to the comrade delegates the draft resolution of the PZPR National Delegates Conference on the implementation of the resolutions of the ninth congress. This resolution is to express the conference's stance on the realization of the congress's decisions. And here one has to remember that the resolutions of the ninth congress retain all of their relevance and have binding force. Their implementation will be assessed finally by the tenth party congress.

The current party tasks are contained in the report delivered by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski. And I understand that during the discussion they have met with the approval of the conference. We should give expression to this in the resolution. And that has been done. This also applies to the report on the government's work delivered by Comrade Messner. The conference documents also include the motions, very rich ones, submitted both during the plenary discussion and during the group discussions. These need to be considered in earnest by the Central Committee, and for a pronouncement on what will pass into party work. That is why the draft resolution includes an entry making it incumbent on the Central Committee to treat these motions in this way. We propose that the conference approve the activity of the Central Committee and of the Politburo for the period since the ninth congress. This is all the more important since during this period it was necessary to take a whole series of weighty decisions which had simply not been envisaged in the resolutions of the ninth congress. It is sufficient to mention the question of martial law, but also the decision on the trade union movement. One could cite more decisions like these. Thus the conference should give an expression of approval to these important and extremely responsible decisions taken by the Central Committee and the Politburo. This is not all: We propose that the conference express its recognition of aktivists of our party, aktivists of the allied political parties, and the people of no party who, during this tremendously difficult period worked together with us, in the spirit of the ninth congress, in Poland's interest and in the interest of socialism. They opposed the destructive activities. We think that the conference should express recognition of Comrade Jaruzelski, who, together with the function of first secretary, has taken on the closest personal responsibility for the fate of the party and the state and, according to the general feeling, has been equal to this responsibility. [applause]

We should express recognition to the Polish Army and to the employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, who at that time carried out tasks of supreme national and state responsibility. [applause]

Let us notice, comrades, that the expression of approval by the conference for the activities of the Central Committee, the Politburo, and the first secretary of the Central Committee will be an expression of the unity of our party and this should cut short all opponents' speculation on differences in our party, on its division, according to various formations, to various ideas, and even on its disintegration, because we have had to deal with such opinions, too, and they did not always die out. Let us cut short, then, all opinions of that type. Let us give expression to the unity of our party.

I appeal to the comrade delegates not only to approve this resolution but to approve it well. May it be an expression of support for the activities of support for the activities of the party leadership towards restoring the standing of socialist Poland in the world, the standing it deserves and which was so seriously shaken.

I propose that the resolution be passed. [end recording]

Jaruzelski Closing Address

LD182009 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 18 Mar 84

[Text] We now broadcast excerpts from the closing speech of General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee:

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] Esteemed comrade delegates: The National Conference of Delegates is drawing to a close. It has passed with a high ideological temperature and with a profound sense of party responsibility. A very large number of comrades have made a direct contribution to the achievement of the conference.

One ought to emphasize the socially representative nature of the speakers, the broad participation by workers and peasants, comrades from the front line of party service. The conference has encountered great interest throughout our party and society. There have been numerous expressions of this. All those who have treated our debate with attention and good will deserve recognition. Whatever the enemy might say, and however he might speculate, the universal interest in the conference confirmed that our party is an authentically leading and directing force. [applause]

Society understands that the country's future depends on the strengthening of our party, on its strength and vigor; that one cannot pass the conference indifferently by, it cannot be passed over in silence, because what happens in the party is of immense significance for the nation, for Poland. This is a great obligation for us.

Comrades, I think that we are all agreed in recognizing that the conference has been successful, but tomorrow will decide what tangible results it brings. This final assessment will be made by the tenth congress. So, the most important thing: Intense work is before us, beginning tomorrow, with the energy, with the most profound conviction that our road is correct and fruitful.

The conference was the continuation of the leading ideas of the ninth congress and at the same time a powerful and unambiguous confirmation of their correctness and aptness. We have taken on the responsibility for there never being, never being able to be, a return either to the pre-August distortions, or to the pre-December anarchy, to the threats to socialism.

We have recognized the main condition of that to be socialist renewal, the line of accord, of struggle, of socialist reform. The guarantee of the implementation of that line can be the party alone, the same party but a different one. We are becoming such a party. We must not leave this road.

Esteemed comrades, at our conference, the same delegates, but delegates who are not, after all, the same, assessed the degree of the changes in the life and functioning of the party itself. Good is its own recommendation. Permit me then to dwell briefly on the shortcomings.

The discussion correctly mentioned stepped up vigilance vis-a-vis the appearance of certain bad practices: bureaucratism, soullessness, arrogance. It is bad that, despite such bitter lessons, such things continue to manifest themselves. But it is good we are so sensitized to them, that we are tenacious in stigmatizing and combating them. Outworn and compromised things have no future in our party and will not pass. In order for this to become the case, we must react with particular attention to those statements in which the comrade delegates pointed out the shrinking from principled and class activity that still occurs in certain of our organizations. And so, to call a spade a spade: Opportunism, acting in the sense of the proverb so as to have your cake and eat it too [aby wilk byl syty i woca cala]. We all live cosily here, for after all we all know each other, one may prove useful to another, common interests and connections: Better bring in someone from the outside to deal with it. Comrades, this is a serious matter. Our weaknesses and our neglect, our lapses and shortcomings, our manifestations of ideological slovenliness, ought to be treated by us as an opponent. Often, we become our own enemies. For there is a simple logic to the struggle: The opponent feeds on our mistakes. Our weaknesses become his strength. Our most effective way of combating the enemy is resolute forward movement, action to counter relapses into doling out orders and into having one's head turned by governing, a lack of party humility and of culture in relations with people, a slackening of the moral demands one makes of oneself and the party collective.

In a word: resolution and consistency in the implementation of the line of the ninth congress. The Leninist style of work is the reverse of an easy task. In our party there are so many splendid people, selfless, modest ones with strong ideology. At times they are difficult, vexatious, bad tempered. But if they orient themselves according to the good of our joint cause and act in line with the ideas of socialism, and have the good of Poland as their aim, we ought to listen discerningly to their voice. The officiously polite, those who count on contacts and a career in the bad sense, are not needed in our party. [applause]

The basic thing is to take into account, in all our actions, the potential of knowledge, experience, and aspirations accumulated by the working class. An imperative arises from this: One's attitude towards the views and appraisals of the working people must be one of being perceptive; the working class' influence on target socioeconomic decisions and the way of their implementation must be more active.

The leadership of a workers' party requires that it should be precisely the party that wages the fullest and most consistent struggle so that the principles of socialist social justice materialize in the day to day life; that the party should be a more eloquent spokesman for the interests of the workers than anyone else, that it should be the most eloquent spokesman for the workers' viewpoint.

The party is needed by the workers in all matters that concern the conditions in which they work and live, in and out of their workplace. The party should put forward the initiative wherever any conflicts may arise; it should come to the defense of correct arguments. The party has a duty to struggle against everything that makes workers indignant, against any and all iniquities; against encroachments upon the dignity of the workers; against wastage of public property, instances of profligacy and bad organization of work.

The party must not allow anyone to overtake it as far as the resolute campaign to combat evil is concerned. The doors of the party committees must stand ajar for every worker, each and every working man. The party aktivist must always find time to talk with people; even if 24 hours is not long enough. The party does not exist by itself and for itself. There is no more important matter than to rally round us the people who do not belong to the party; to create a natural, everyday, sincere and honest link with nonparty people in the process of solving problems we all share; to bear in mind that the main thing is not that they should go with us, fully aware that they accept the line and intention of our activities as their own.

A fierce political struggle is going on. The party has many enemies. However, there are many more people who are simply unconvinced and in doubt. Declarations, words that are honest and clear, are essential as far as the processes of agreement are concerned. However, they will not always suffice on their own.

Real facts are essential. Specific arguments are essential. We are creating the facts; we possess the arguments. To create more facts, to use the arguments better: Those are the great tasks of the ideological front. This concept is often applied to the mass media, to science, but the ideological front is also our aktiv, it is the comrades active among people; it is all of us, active members of the party.

The ideological front is the real struggle against evil, against everything which is a denial of socialism. It is a good thing, then, that our conference made such hard-hitting statements on everything which harms the cause of socialism, of its idea. This is proof that the party is constantly aware of its essentially revolutionary role; that it has a sense of responsibility for life in our country being of increasing dignity, purer, more just; for there being no place in it for wrongs done to people, for soullessness, for mean tricks annoying people, for immunity from punishment cliques, prosperity of parasites and smart guys.

The past year, the past years, in fact, were a period of setting the reform in question, of learning it, of bruising oneself. The present year is for modifications on the basis of the experiences; it is the introduction within the framework of the reform of a growth trend in the economy. This may be, therefore, a year of real opportunity, if we carry out these measures determinedly and consistently.

In the economy, there is still a long list of matters which we have not succeeded in solving, which were not successful, but the most important thing is that the list of matters which were successful is gradually getting longer, matters in which we have begun to move forward. This also confirmed by the results of the past months.

We must do all we can so that economic progress is felt, as tangibly as possible, by the public, by working people. Hence the weight that we attach to increasing production for the market. We are of the opinion that this year there can be -- and there should be -- more, especially industrial goods; that the current year ought to bring about a further drop in the rate of inflation and that it should bring about further economic progress.

We know perfectly well, all the difficulties and shortages notwithstanding, how enormous are the reserves that still exist: No matter how paradoxical it sounds, I will repeat that our weakness in various areas of the economy, happens, at the same time, to be our strength, since it is a reserve of ours. Better results in the implementation of the program to save raw and other materials and people's strength, above all, better organization of work, a better management in every respect, a better action in every respect, more and more extensive opportunities to make use of technological progress, of that huge army of talented people employed on the front of science and industry, scientists, engineers, technicians -- all this is a great reserve of ours.

The party turns to this reserve and appeals to it. A dialogue with the public is one of the most fundamental ways a socialist state functions. In a situation in which citizens' opinions and views are many and different, it is one of the main conditions for a proper exercise of authority. The decisions of the authorities cease to be arbitrary if a dialogue, in the form of consultations, precedes them and is genuinely taken into account when these decisions are actually made. We will consistently continue to use this method.

This year, we intend to carry out consultations with the general public or with various communities within it, regarding such issues as, among others: the long-term economic plans and programs, the criteria of admission to higher educational establishments and the issue that is of particular concern to us -- that of young people from working class and peasant families, the final version of the bill on youth, the bills concerning setting up the workers and peasants inspection system and, finally, the tightening of and changes to certain regulations so as to make for a more efficient struggle for observance of the law and social discipline, for public law and order.

Socialist democracy will not come knocking at the door of its own accord. Its essence lies in participation, activity, getting things done. The party inspires, creates conditions for, encourages: that is its programmatic duty. But democracy [ludowladztwo] must be the work of the broad mass of citizens, of the nation. The opponent attacks at this point and calls for refusals and boycotts, to say: Look, their reforms have failed. They will come off, they must be a success. This is a process. We have built the foundations in the form of a multitude of legislative acts. Now it is praxis that will be decisive, beginning with the coming elections. They open up an important new stage and a great opportunity for the local people, one for the energetic people, the people of the deed, including the young, those of no party. The democratic process of submission of candidatures for councillors makes it possible for their ranks to include those who truly are the best, the thrifty.

This opportunity that lies before them and for the local society that knows itself well has to be exploited in full. The act endows the new councils with new rights, considerably expanded opportunities for action. This ought to be reflected both in the contents of the preelectoral meetings, in programs drawn up realistically, and in the selection and appointment of appropriate candidates.

There is a law of political and social life which states: Increased rights, increased duties; more opportunities, more responsibility. The socioeconomic crisis in Poland has begun to gradually abate. Many hindrances and difficulties lie ahead of us, but nevertheless for the first time in several years the party -- together with the whole nation -- can permit itself a moderate but unambiguous optimism. Once again Poland is becoming a country in which one can live with a sense that the morrow is safe, of which one can think with good hope. The processes currently unfolding in Poland can only be compared with those after the war, when we entered into the revolutionary road of building a new system. They call for a straining of all one's forces, for fortification of all the social and patriotic energies. But victory will be ours. We will win it, steadfastly treading the path mapped out in this hall, in the historic days of the ninth congress. Our nation, under the leadership of its party, can do anything if it has a will to. [end recording]

And here is the moment at which the conference ended.

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] I proclaim the PZPR National Delegates Conference closed. [applause] [end recording]

693 Speakers at Conference

LD181220 Warsaw PAP in English 1145 GMT 18 Mar 84

[Text] Warsaw 18 March -- The plenary debate at the nationwide conference of PUWP delegates wound up here today. A total of 63 speakers took the floor, with another 47 having filed their speeches to the conference's records.

As many as 341 participants had earlier made their utterances within working groups, and many statements were also filed to the conference's record.

During the conference, a total of 693 delegates and guests made speeches.

Porebski Statement

LD182047 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1855 GMT 18 Mar 84

[Text] Immediately after the conference ended, we managed to get a statement from Tadeusz Porebski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, concerning the final documents of the conference. During the proceedings, Comrade Porebski chaired the Commission for Resolutions and Motions. Here is our video recording of this interview:

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Comrade, you chaired the Commission for Resolutions and Motions. In front of us are the fruits of its work, in the shape of six basic documents, all passed by the conference today. I would like to ask you for a brief appraisal of each one of these documents. It is difficult to define them by reference to some common denominator, since they concern a whole, wide gamut of problems. Let us, perhaps, start from the basic declaration: "What are we fighting for, where are we going?"

[Porebski] It is the general program of action for us, for several years. In my view, an integral part of this declaration, or a supplement to it, is made up of the theses, or material, for discussion on the long-term plan.

[Reporter] Indeed, if the declaration "What are we fighting for, where are we going?" relates to the prospect of several years, then it deals with, I would say, the ad hoc matters, is that not right? And the portion of the document that contains the basic long-term plan is confined in what is a relatively modest pamphlet, not a voluminous one, but, I think, one that carries great political weight.

[Porebski] Well, I would put it this way; that as far as the declaration is concerned, it does have some suggestions and provisions regarding the direction, while the long-term program of the party, I conceive in this way: that it will treat, in a fairly detailed way, by exercising influence on the imagination of members of the party and the public, of the long-term, concrete prospects of ours in very many areas. There are at least several dozen of such areas that are mentioned.

[Reporter] Two documents out of this whole package concern international affairs. The first one contains a message to communist and workers' parties, to all parties and, in fact, it deals with our own affairs. The second one contains appeal in the matter of peace. Can I ask you to comment on these two documents?

[Porebski] Let us start with the first one mentioned here. Interest in our conference is great, and, as it were, we wished to make our voice heard in this matter on behalf of the whole conference, all the delegates to supply, as it were, the information at first hand in the shape of this document: What we have been dealing with, what was our main task in drawing up solutions, and creating a field of vision for ourselves prior to the next congress. This is the sense that this message of ours has.

As far as the second document is concerned, the one which deals with our position with regard to matters of peace, it is simply a continuation of what was taking place at the party conference at all levels, since, as is known, this problem was dealt with there in the form of resolutions and so it is the crowning of what was taking place during the course of our election campaign with regard to this issue.

[Reporter] Finally, the next document, treating the PZPR's stance on the coming elections to people's councils.

[Porebski] We wanted to give expression to the fact that, after all, in 3 months' time, we are going to the elections and we are aware of the great responsibility borne by the party, but also of the great organic work. These will be different elections, held in different conditions and party members will have here, in these elections, other great tasks. Simply, without involvement by all party members, we cannot imagine this electoral campaign being held; to present our intentions as a party and what was said at our national conference as well, which sketched out, after all, some sort of program.

[Reporter] Comrade Secretary, apart from that, in the package of documents there are a lot more than 3,000 proposals, resolutions, often individual postulates addressed to the conference. You have spoken about this from the conference platform. Could we have a brief comment on that?

[Porebski] In the best instance, before the holidays and in the worst case, after the holidays. Provisionally speaking, in June or September the delegates will get a package of those proposals with the stance and definition of the course of their implementation. [end recording]

Press Review

LD190948 Warsaw PAP in English 1700 GMT 19 Mar 84

[Press Review]

[Text] Warsaw, 19 March -- Reports on the last two days of debates of the National Conference of PUWP Delegates occupy top space in all national dailies. The papers carry summaries of statements in the plenary debate and discussions held in working groups, as well as texts of some of the documents adopted by the meeting. The coverage also includes the summary of the concluding speech by Gen. Jaruzelski.

Foreign commentaries on the course and significance of the PUWP conference are among the leading international topics in the press today.

The last days of the visit of a delegation of the Polish Sejm to Japan from where it went on to India yesterday and talks held by the Polish minister of culture and arts in Vietnam get prominent treatment among foreign dispatches.

Front-page space is assigned to the Lebanese conference of national reconciliation under way in Lausanne, Switzerland.

The fierce fighting on the Iraqi-Iranian front, disappointing start of the recently resumed negotiations in Vienna, presidential campaign in the United States, as well as the visit of Yugoslav President Mika Spiljak to Austria and that paid by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to Cuba are among the major international events focusing the attention of the Polish press today.

Writing of her impressions from the debates of the National PUWP Conference, TRYBUNA LUDU's correspondent said that "those who gathered in the Congress Hall two and a half years after the 9th PUWP Congress were the same, but not unchanged people. What does the change consist in? They were hardened, united, mutually confident. They represented a community, a party community."

"The historically short two and a half year period was, simultaneously, an entire important stage of history. The road from the brink of any abyss to safety was mapped out by the party, its 9th congress which initiated the programme of struggle, agreement and reforms.

"This was a hard-working conference, rich in thoughts. More than 400 speakers took the floor during the plenary debate and in working groups.

"The common denominator of the various issues of towns, villages, schools, and factories was care for a more effective commitment of the party, all its links and all its members in solving the most urgent problems, all Polish issues," TRYBUNA LUDU said.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY stressed "great ideological and programmatic importance of the conference to all party members" and pointed out that it "confirmed the ideological unity of the party."

"The essential meaning of the conference has been that it firmly reasserted full validity of the line of the 9th extraordinary congress, which has stood the test of time and to a remarkable extent has become reality. The conference has confirmed the ideological unity of the party," the daily said.

"A lasting achievement of the conference are the documents adopted on the last day, which make up the guidelines for further party efforts in creative implementing of the decisions taken by the 9th congress. This is another reason why the conference is of great ideological and programmatic significance to all members of the party.

"The conference has shown how much the present situation in Poland differs from that in the time of the 9th congress. To varying degrees, one can note progress in all areas of our life, but General Jaruzelski cautioned against overestimating these achievements. There are still numerous unsolved problems, unconquered bureaucratic habits, and reluctance to take determined, class attitudes," the paper said, adding that at present the struggle goes not in defence of socialism, but for its creative continuation.

Government newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA pointed out that "the conference hardly ever looked back and rather concentrated on the future, through the prism of the hard today." It went on:

"Poland's socialist recovery is a process, and one taking place in a complex political and economic situation, under the necessity of class struggle as well as the struggle against anti-socialist forces, and against old habits and worn-out views. All that, under an economic crisis aggravated by the anti-Polish in its essence policy of the imperialist states.

"The conference has shown that the party has a firm will and skills to carry on with the process and make necessary corrections on the way, if life demand them. It has thus reasserted that the PUWP is truly the leading force in Poland," RZECZPOSPOLITA summed up.

CARDINAL GLEMP SPEAKS ON REMOVAL OF CRUCIFIXES

LD162029 Vatican City in Polish to Poland 1515 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] On Saturday 14 March Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland, celebrated a mass of thanksgiving at the archsee of St. John the Baptist in Warsaw, after his trip to Brazil and Argentina. During this mass he delivered a sermon which in its final part touched on the matter of removing crucifixes from schools. We give you the literal text of this excerpt of the sermon given by the primate:

Yesterday, during the main council of the Episcopate we heard a report by the bishop of Siedlce on the unrest in Mietno and Garwolin set against the backdrop of the removal of crosses from school walls. This raises the question of who is so bothered by the crucifix.

This is being done in the name of the law, or rather in the name of the principle of separating church from state. Is a law justified which universally, as if organically, wounds the feelings of a public which for the most part is made up of believers? Does one not have to stop and think about the correct interpretation of the principle of separating church from state?

When all is said and done there were periods in our postwar history, said the primate, when crosses hung on walls without disturbing the peace and this did not offend anyone. On the contrary, there was social calm. At my grammar school during the whole time I was taught there until my final exams in 1950 we had crucifixes on the walls. It was in those very classrooms which had crosses that a great many of today's state activists who have nothing in common with the Church and our Lord were taught. When Jesus was hanging from the cross one half of the thieves hanging with him were believers and the other half of the thieves were nonbelievers. They suffered together.

The secular nature of institutions should not be determined through the differentiation of emblems but ought to be based on the objectivity of social and national feelings in order to mold responsible citizens.

My most dear ones! We need peace. The Church is striving for social order as a good moral value. Social order also means tolerance, which cannot be taught by starting off with a lack of tolerance for the cross in the name of secularity. This is why the Church must stand up in defense of those values which have taken root permamently in the children of the nation, irrespective of whether they live in the areas of the Vistula or the Amazon. The Church will defend them in peace, looking for paths which even though they might be difficult will after all be crossable. We entrust our compatriots in South America to the Most Holy Mother of Jasna Gora and we entrust to her ourselves, our schools, and our youth and teachers.

AUTHORITIES SUMMON PRIESTS IN CRUCIFIX CASE

NC171334 Paris AFP in English 1321 GMT 17 Mar 84

[Excerpts] Warsaw, March 17 (AFP) -- The military authorities have summoned three priests from Garwolin, the neighbouring town to the Mietne agricultural school, occupied March 6 and 7 by pupils protesting the removal of crucifixes from classrooms. One of the priests had already been questioned this week by the local authorities and two others have been asked to attend next Tuesday.

No progress is reported from Mietne, where the school has been closed until further notice. Reliable sources added that pupils in several schools in the Polish capital had handed in petitions in support of the Mietne protest.

MILITIAMEN REPORTEDLY ABUSE POLITICAL PRISONERS

NC161906 Paris AFP in English 1903 GMT 16 MAR 84

[Excerpt] Warsaw, March 16 (AFP) -- Some 60 militiamen "beat up" political prisoners who have been on a revolving hunger strike in the northern Polish prison of Barczew since last December, opposition sources said here today. The "brutal" beatings occurred on February 29 when the militiamen were sent to the prison to quell a protest movement by prisoners demanding better conditions and more regular mail from their families, the sources added.

BBC, NY TIMES REPORTERS TO SEE INTERIOR MINISTER

NC190958 Paris AFP in English 0940 GMT 19 Mar 84

[Text] Warsaw, March 19 (AFP) -- The Warsaw correspondents for the British Broadcasting Corporation and THE NEW YORK TIMES have been summoned to appear before the interior minister today, reliable sources said.

THE NEW YORK TIMES' John Kifner said he had been asked to appear at noon, while Kevin Ruane of the BBC was to appear earlier. Mr Kifner said he had no idea why he was being summoned. A letter from the ministry carried a file number but gave no explanation.

Mr Ruane was expelled from Warsaw in December 1982, in a move thought connected with a television programme, titled "Two Weeks Last Winter", on the shooting of miners at Wujek colliery [words indistinct] earlier. He was later allowed to return.

CULTURE MINISTER MEETS SRV PREMIER; ENDS VISIT

LD182122 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 18 Mar 84

[Text] Hanoi 18 March -- Polish Minister of Culture and the Arts Professor Kazimierz Zygulski ended his official four-day visit to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam today. Minister Zygulski and the accompanying persons had talks with Vietnamese Minister of Culture and Information Nguyen Van Hieu on prospects for the development of Polish-Vietnamese cooperation in culture which is covered by long-term agreement.

On the last day of the visit, Minister Kazimierz Zygulski was received by Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong. In the cordial talk, the premier took interest in the state and possibilities of the development of Vietnamese-Polish ties in culture in the coming years.

In an interview for the PAP correspondent, Minister Zygulski said: "This was the first visit by a culture minister from Poland in the history of bilateral relations. Therefore, there were many subjects on which to exchange views, particularly after difficult tests that our countries have experienced." The minister went on to say: "A programme for cooperation [word indistinct] participation of Polish specialists in the conservation and reconstruction of historical [word indistinct] of Vietnam's many-century culture, and exchanges of people as part of training sessions, artistic scholarships, exchanges of artistic ensembles and exhibitions, and cooperation in translating books.

"The unusually cordial meeting and talks with Premier Phan Van Dong crowned our visit. The premier took great interest in the development of the situation in our country, including in the area of culture. Premier Pham Van Dong stressed that the over 30-year-old traditions of Vietnamese-Polish cooperation in culture had acquired a fresh dimension and significance lately and are an important factor of consolidating the unity of socialist countries," Minister Zygulski said.

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES ETHIOPIAN DELEGATION

LD162223 Warsaw PAP in English 1412 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Mar -- First secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, received here today a delegation of Socialist Ethiopia, now on a visit to this country at the invitation from the PUWP Central Committee. The delegation is headed by member of the permanent committee of the Provisional Military Administrative Council (TWRA), member of the Executive Commission for the Organization of the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (KOPLPE), Major Fisseha Desta.

During the meeting, the delegation briefed the PUWP CC first secretary about efforts of the Ethiopian nation made for the cause of socialist socio-economic transformations in that country, in the defence of imperialism and reaction. They also talked about preparations for the KOPLPE inaugural congress and celebrations to mark the 10th anniversary of the Ethiopian revolution. The delegation also conveyed a message from TWRA and KOPLPE chairman, Mengistu Haile Mariam. The participants noted with satisfaction a favorable development of Polish-Ethiopian friendly relations and mutual will to further develop them.

GDR PLANNING CHIEF VISITS, SIGNS PROTOCOL

Received by Dascalescu

AU161928 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1912 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 16/3/1984 -- During a meeting on March 16 between Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, and Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the State Planning Commission of the German Democratic Republic, mutual determination was expressed to steadily work for the expansion and diversification of the economic relations and commercial exchanges, as well as of the long-term collaboration between the two countries, in the spirit of the decisions and understandings covenanted during summit meetings.

The same day, Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of Romania, received Rudolf Heinze, vice-chairman of the State Planning Commission of the German Democratic Republic, a member of the commission's delegation who visit Romania.

They analyzed the opportunities for the continued development of the economic relations and of the bilateral commercial exchanges as well as aspects regarding the development of the cooperation between the planning bodies in Romania and the GDR.

Received by Ceausescu

AU161930 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 16/3/1984 -- Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, president of Romania, received, on Friday, March 16, Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the SUPG [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic, chairman of the State Planning Commission, now visiting Romania.

Stefan Birlea, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the State Planning Committee attended the interview.

The interview occasioned an exchange of heartfelt salutes between Nicolae Ceausescu and Erich Honecker.

During the interview, which passed in a warm, comradely atmosphere, stress was laid on the fine relations of friendship and collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples, which develop continuously, in keeping with summit understandings.

Likewise, the joint wish was expressed to further deepen the long-term bilateral collaboration and cooperation in economy, science and technology, in trade exchanges, to the advantage of both states, of the general cause of socialism and peace in the world. Romania's and GDR's economic potentials were considered to offer broad possibilities for the promotion of efficient forms of economic collaboration between the two countries as well as on third markets.

During the talk, questions of the international political life were also approached, peace- and security-related questions in Europe and throughout the world in particular.

Planning Protocol Signed

AU171615 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1530 GMT 17 Mar 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 17/3/1984 -- The delegations of the central planning bodies of Romania and the German Democratic Republic, headed by Stefan Birlea, chairman of the State Planning Committee, and Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, chairman of the State Planning Commission, conducted talks over March 16-17.

The delegations analyzed the current stage of bilateral economic relations, the modalities to expand the many-sided collaboration and cooperation between the two countries, to increase and diversify mutual goods exchanges. Likewise, measures were discussed meant to help the development of the collaboration between the two central planning bodies with regard to the long-term programmes of economic and technico-scientific collaboration, of specialization and cooperation in production in various branches of mutual interest.

At the close of the talks, the two chief delegates signed a protocol.

IRANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ENDS OFFICIAL TALKS

AU162026 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1952 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 16/3/1984 -- Official talks concluded on Friday between Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei and Dr 'Ali Akbar Velayati, minister of foreign affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The same day, the Iranian guest had an interview with Vasile Pungan, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

The two governments' wish was expressed on the occasion to promote the economic relations relying upon mutual interest and advantage, by starting cooperation ventures and increasing the commerical exchanges.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION WITH TURKEY SIGNS PROTOCOL

AU151909 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1851 GMT 15 Mar 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 15/3/1984 -- The proceedings of the tenth session of the Joint Government Commission on Economic Cooperation Between Romania and Turkey concluded in Bucharest.

Looking into the current stage of the bilateral economic relations, the two sides in the commission pointed with satisfaction to their growing course and set other actions to help the development of collaboration and cooperation between the two countries indomains of mutual interest, the increase and diversification of trade exchanges on mutually advantageous bases. At the close of the proceedings, the two co-chairman of the commission -- Ioan Avram, Romanian minister of the machine-building industry, and Ekrem Pakdemirli, minister secretary of state, head of the Treasury and Trade Department [titles as received] -- signed the protocol of the session.

These days, the Turkish minister had interviews with Vasile Pungan, minister of foreign and international economic cooperation, Vasile Bulucea, minister of transport and telecommuncations and Ion Lazarescu, minister of mines.

OPREA RECEIVES DPRK STATE PLANNING OFFICIAL

AU151910 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1854 GMT 15 Mar 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 15/3/1984 -- Gheorghe Oprea, Romanian first deputy prime minister, received, on Thursday afternoon, Han Kuk-kyung, deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, who is paying a visit to Romania. Satisfaction was expressed at the growing course of the relations between the two countries, with emphasis on the existing possibilities to further deepen the many-sided collaboration between Romania and the DPR of Korea.

RCP CC GREETINGS TO DOMINICAN CP CONGRESS

AU190911 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Mar 84 p 5

[Text] To the Third Congress of the Dominican Communist Party [DCP]

The Third DCP Congress affords us a pleasant opportunity to convey to you, on behalf of the RCP Central Committee and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the congress participants and to your entire party warm, comradely greetings of friendship and international solidarity.

The RCP and the Romanian working people follow with great interest the activities carried out by your party to defend the interests of the Dominican working people, to consolidate and defend national independence and sovereignty, to promote the country's independent socioeconomic development, and to achieve innovative changes and prosperity for the Dominican people.

We take this opportunity to express our hope that the good relations of friendship and solidarity between the RCP and the DCP, marked by mutual esteem, confidence, understanding, and respect, will further develop, in the interests of the two parties, countries, and peoples, and of strengthening the solidarity of all anti-imperialist forces and international peace, understanding, and cooperation.

Dear Comrades, we wish you full success at your congress and in implementing the decisions that will be taken, and in all the Dominican Communists' work devoted to defending the basic interests of the Dominican people and the cause of progress, socialism and peace.

RCP Central Committee

CYPRIOT PAPER CARRIES DOBRESCU EDEK ADDRESS

NC161237 Nicosia TA NEA in Greek 16 Mar 84 p 5

[Speech by Miu Dobrescu, candidate member of the Romanian Communist Party Political Executive Committee and secretary of the party's Central Committee, during the EDEK (United Democratic Movement of Cyprus) congress held in Nicosia from 9 to 11 March -- date of speech not given]

[Text] Dear conferees, on behalf of the RCP, President Nicolae Ceausescu, and the workers of the Socialist Republic of Romania, we address warm greetings to those who are attending the Fourth Congress of the Socialist EDEK Party of Cyrpus and to all your party's strugglers. We also convey to you heartfelt congratulations on the 15th anniversary of the founding of your party.

On this occasion, we stress the development of friendly relations and cooperation between the RCP and the Socialist EDEK Party. We also stress the boost given to these relations and to issues of joint interest by the meeting and the exchange of views between Comrade Nicolae Ceasescu and Vasos Lissaridhis.

We also express our full satisfaction with the positive development in the traditional relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Cyprus. These relations are based on feelings of mutual respect which are beneficial for the continuous strengthening and progress of both countries, as well as for peace, detente, security, and cooperation in the Balkans, the Mediterranean area, Europe, and the world.

The official and friendly visit by Comrade Nicolae Ceasescu and the talks he had on this occasion with President Kiprianou contributed toward the broadening of bilateral cooperation in various spheres, including economic exchanges and cooperation in exploring more general aspects of bilateral relations.

Dear comrades,

This year the Romanian people are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the August 1944 social and national antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution. According to tradition, this event gives us the opportunity to analyze our policy thus far, and to sum up the great socialist successes. At the same time, this event is the beginning of increased efforts to conclude this period's programs. In a short time and mainly following the ninth party congress, Romania, while paying particular attention to the strong development of productive forces, has changed from a country with an underdeveloped economy to a country with strong modern industry , socialist agriculture, and a country full of progress and a continuously advancing culture.

Today our country's industry produces about 53 times more than in 1938 while our national income has increased 12 times. A strong scientific research potential was established, and culture, education, and the people's standard of living has increased considerably. We are now intensifying our efforts to develop our economy by paying particular attention to quality in all areas of activity, to an increased utilization of different energy sources and raw materials, and to the development of advanced technology. We are now taking action to deepen and improve socialist democracy, our self-management and self-administration system, and to fully develop the individual's personality.

Dear conferees,

Your congress is being held at a time when the international situation continues to be tense. We are witnessing an unprecedented intensification of the arms race, mainly nuclear arms. The old conflicts are being consolidated; However, new ones are appearing, such as the economic situation of developing countries which are hit by the consequences of the international economic crisis.

The positive outcome of the Madrid conference has been overshadowed by events. Following the deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, the Geneva talks were interrupted and the Soviet Union publicized its nuclear countermeasures. In essence, this means the beginning of a new arms race and consequently the increase of the danger of a nuclear war which no one can win and which would jeopardize mankind's very existence.

The imperative conclusion is that the deployment of new missiles in Europe should stop; the existing missiles should be removed and destroyed; and the process toward nuclear destruction should be halted. "This is the fundamental problem being raised at this moment," as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has stressed.

As far as Romania is concerned, it is acting with determination and consistency in order to contribute to the overcoming of the dangerous international situation; to the strengthening of cooperation, security, and peace in our continent; to the halting of the extremely dangerous process toward nuclear war; to the resumption of the Geneva talks in view of an agreement connected with the complete elimination of medium-range nuclear missiles and of other nuclear weapons; to the establishment of nuclear-free zones, the Balkan Peninsula included. At the same time it acts devisively for the peaceful settlment of conflicts in the Middle East, Asia, Africa, Central America, and so forth. It also acts decisively in order to eradicate underdevelopment and to introduce a new international economic order. It struggles to strengthen the UN role, and to develop cooperation aomong all the countries of the world.

As for its international relations, Romania has been firmly struggling for the implementation of the principles of complete equality; respect for national independence; nonintervention in internal affairs; and it decisively sides in favor of the solution of all interstate problems exclusively through negotiations, and for an end to the use of force or threat to use force.

The Romanian Government and Romanian public opinion have heard with surprise and concern of the unilateral and illegal decision of declaring an independent Turkish Cypriot state. Romania has always strongly sympathized with the Cypriot people. We have sided, and we still side, in favor of settling Cyprus' problems through direct negotiations between the two communities for the securing of Cyprus' independence and sovereignty, unity, integrity, nonalignment, and for the peaceful coexistence of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

According to its traditional line, the RCP attaches great importance to, and firmly works for, the continuous strengthening of cooperation and solidarity with the communist and workers' parties, with the socialist and social democratic parties, and with all democratic forces that have national liberation movements, with all the organizations which side in favor of a policy of disarmament, peace, and international cooperation. We will do everything possible to develop and strengthen our relations with these parties and forces always based on the principle of equality, respect for each party's independence, each party's right to chart by itself its line of policy and its strategy and tactics, in accordance with the conditions within which it is acting.

Minister Meets Andrei, Others

AU152045 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1940 GMT 15 Mar 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 15/3/1984 -- On November 15 official talks started between Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei and the minister of foreign affairs of Angola, Paulo Teixeira Jorge, related to the progress of the bilateral relations between Romania and Angola and to certain aspects of the current international situation.

The same day the foreign minister of Angola, chairman for his country in the Romanian-Angolan Joint Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation also talked with Vasile Pungan, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and with Petre Gigea, minister of finance.

On March 15 proceedings started in Bucharest of the fourth session of the Romanian-Angolan Joint Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation that looks into the stage attained by the economic relations and exchanges of goods between the two countries, and into possibilities to develop and diversify the economic, industrial, technical and scientific cooperation. An analysis is made of fresh proposals and concrete measures for intensification and deepening of the collaboration in various domains of activity in view of a substantial increase of the mutual deliveries of goods.

Proceedings are led by the foreign ministers of Romania and Angola, chairmen for the two countries.

Protocol Signed at Talks' End

AU171614 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1524 GMT 17 Mar 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 17/3/1984 -- The official talks between the Romanian minister of foreign affairs, Stefan Andrei, and the Angolan minister of foreign affairs, Paulo Teixeira Jorge, concluded in Bucharest on Saturday. The same day, the works of the fourth session of the Joint Romanian-Angolan Intergovernment Commission on Economic and Technological Cooperation concluded in Bucharest.

Setting out from the current stage of the bilateral economic relations which witnessed a growing course, in the light of the agreements and decisions covenanted during the Romanian-Angolan summit talks and interviews, the two delegations set new actions meant to further develop these relations, to deepen the cooperation between Romania and Angola in industry, agriculture, mining, transport and other sectors of activity.

At the close of the works, the co-chairmen of the commission -- Stefan Andrei and Paulo Teixeira Jorge -- signed the protocol of the session.

The head of the Angolan delegation also conducted talks with Gheorghe Vlad, minister of oil and with executives of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry.

MOSCOW'S STANCE ON U.S. DIALOGUE 'UNCHANGED'

LD151241 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1152 GMT 15 Mar 84

[By Branko Stosic]

[Text] Moscow, March 15 (TANJUG) -- Moscow's position on the resumption of dialogue with Washington remains unchanged. Moscow remains firm in its stance that dialogue between the two sides is not possible until the "shadows of new missiles" in Europe are eliminated.

Moscow's condition for the resumption of the dialogue has been unequivocally worded by new Soviet party leader Chernenko who in fact wholly reaffirmed Moscow's firm position on the Soviet-U.S. dialogue put forth by his predecessor Andropov. Noting that the U.S. Administration had made various calculations following Chernenko's election to the leading party post and his election speech, the Soviet press has been stressing in the past few days that the assumptions according to which a change in the Soviet position on key problems in relations with the U.S. was "imminent" have been quickly proven wrong.

Stressing how "shortsighted" these forecasts are, PRAVDA openly rejects speculations that Moscow, after Andropov's death, will "take a break" and choose "a relatively passive approach" and stand on the world scene. It is considered in Moscow that Chernenko's speech has clearly shown that in relation to the [words indistinct] let alone a change of policy, are to be expected from Moscow.

As things stand at the moment, the dialogue is still nowhere in sight, despite certain positive indications in this direction noted by foreign observers in Moscow, primarily in intensified contacts among Western countries representatives and Soviet functionaries, namely the German Federal Republic political personalities and the U.S. ambassador in Moscow, Hartman.

EFFECTS OF CSSR'S ANTI-WEST PROPAGANDA

AU161619 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 84 p 3

[Permanent Correspondent S. Djukic report from Prague]

[Text] Prague, 14 Mar -- Following the press and television, one would think that in the American election year Prague has decided in favor of Gary Hart or perhaps Walter Mondale. Their statements are carried with a greater degree of tolerance than is being done for any other White House personality. In fact, Mondale and Hart are given publicity to the extent that they condemn Ronald Reagan. Prague does not hide its extreme intolerance toward the policy of the present U.S. President. Even when Moscow softens its tone Prague is unyielding.

Condemning Reagan, however, Prague does not expect that a vital change will be made in American policy with the election of another person, particularly as regards Czechoslovakia. At the latest CPCZ Central Committee plenum Vasil Bilak said that "everything that we are witnessing today has not come out of the blue and is not the result of the fact that Ronald Reagan is U.S. President."

RUDE PRAVO has been extensively explaining that the American elections are undemocratic because they are "primarily a question of money" that is invested in advertising and with which the voters are manipulated. Thus, this newspaper is explaining the lack of interest among American voters, of whom only just over half turn up at the polls.

Criticism is not reduced here merely to the White House. It is spread to the entire American society, which is presented nearly exclusively as a society of moral decline, human degradation, and terror. The social contradictions are illustrated by television shots of exhausted old people who helplessly stand in line with an empty plate in their hands. The corruptness of the Western press is written about, but at the same time articles that present a negative picture of capitalist society and its leading figures are amply cited from the Western press.

Satirical features are also in the same spirit, such as the story about (Patrick MacMac), who fled the big city, fearing the arrival of the Russians, only to be confronted in another place, where he sought peace, with blackmailers, thieves, the suffering of people unable to pay their debts, and with a neighbor who "trampled his wife six times."

The West About the CSSR and the CSSR About the West

In contrast to the United States, a differentiated approach is used in reporting on the European society. Direct condemnations of the leading political figures are avoided, except when direct causes are involved that directly affect the Warsaw Pact allies. The spiritual, social, and societal situations in the West European countries are usually criticized, and a multitude of reports on strikes, unemployment, and anti-missile demonstrations are carried.

The systematic criticism of the West results primarily from the ideological convictions and confrontations between the two blocs and systems. However, it is necessary to say that among the countries of the East, Czechoslovakia is most frequently a target of Western countries' propaganda, particularly since 1968. Czechoslovakia is being reproached for being a "closed country, with a belligerent policy," and for showing the greatest intolerance toward the West among the Warsaw Pact countries. The Western press uses the smallest pretext to portray the situation in the Czechoslovak society exclusively in dark colors. A particular target is the position of intelligentsia, about whose most creative part it is claimed that it is "deprived of all rights, forcibly separated from its profession, and forced to earn its bread by physical work."

The "aggressiveness of bourgeois propaganda," as the Western press' reporting is here described, was discussed at the last plenum of the highest party leadership.

Words Have Lost Their Earlier Power

The war of words is merciless. The smallest crack and cause are being used to present the weaknesses of the "other side" and the advantages of one's own side. However, the question that occurs to a foreign observer and with which researchers are increasingly more occupied remains: What is the real power of propaganda today and what is its effect on an ordinary man, about whom we think that he accepts everything as a fact? Do not all kinds of exaggerations create an atmosphere in which people do not believe even that which is factual and based on facts?

At a time of bad communications and when people, with some exceptions, could not personally ascertain how another people live, propaganda certainly had great power. Today there are no obstacles, irrespective of the extent to which they are artificially created, preventing a man from objectively informing himself, regardless of how his "own newspapers" may inform him. This is achieved either by traveling across the border, by a simple push of a radio button, and by tuning in the desired radio station, or by going to any public telephone, from which one can dial practically any town of the world.

With the very fact that there exists no "problem of truth," or that it is reduced to the smallest extent, propaganda is in an increasingly more delicate position. When it thinks that it is doing more for its "own cause," it can happen that it achieves an opposite effect. Words have lost their previous value.

SPILJAK OFFICIAL VISIT TO CSSR 'THIS MONTH'

LD161638 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1553 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG) -- Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, will pay an official and friendly visit to Czechoslovakia at the end of this month at the invitation of the president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Dr Gustav Husak.

IMF NEGOTIATIONS; MOVES TO CORRECT DEFICIENCIES

LD182307 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Mar 84

[Text] The negotiations between our country and the IMF on obtaining financial assistance for our economic stabilization program ended recently. The negotiations, which were neither easy nor brief, were accompanied by reports on demands which this significant financial institution was making on our country. How much are these demands correct and justified? A commentary by Dusko Mandic:

Both us and the foreigners know that the numerous economic weaknesses that afflict us have not arisen as the consequence of our not grasping their causes, but because of the delay in eliminating them. However, most of the real moves suffer no postponement, and if we reconcile ourselves to delays, awkwardness, and inconsistencies, our business partners in the world do not reconcile themselves to these traits of course. This is very frequently mentioned when the results of both what has been achieved and missed in international economic relations are summed up. To miss such opportunities is expensive and leads to debts so that bills need to be paid, and this is the way by which we arrived at our present level of indebtedness.

Now, along with everything which we have begun to achieve in international trade -- and let us not forget that the elementary trade is only the initial stage of cooperation with the world -- we are ready to put off some fundamental solutions, dreamily deluding ourselves that things will work out somehow later. However, we have encountered a hard and merciless world market of commodities, services, and capital in altered economic conditions, and this market no longer wants to abandon further trends of cooperation to our indifferent procrastinations. This has best been confirmed in the lengthy and not at all easy negotiations with the IMF which has set strict and fairly difficult conditions under which we would receive its financial support for our long-term economic stabilization program.

The first point of controversy clearly arose in the interpretation of the phrase long-term. Our interpretation of the phrase regarding time differs from theirs. If the interest rates on our credits, inflation and the exchange rate of the dinars were controversial, then they only chiefly concerned the periods within which the desired levels have to be reached, and on this the attitudes have been more or less coordinated. This is so because we too have been asserting for years how the present credit conditions make excessive consumption possible, how the real exchange rate of the dinar is the only condition for economic breakthrough to the world, and how all this is not possible in the present inflationary conditions, as long as this plague is not combatted. The goal can be reached only with synchronized assaults on all three fronts.

That we did not agree right away is entirely understandable. Our side is conscious of the fact that solutions which have been delayed for years cannot be achieved in a hurry, while our interlocutors from the outside world do not want to reconcile themselves to our dangerous inertia any longer. The announced agreement has thus come as the consequence of the desire on both sides to embark on a resolute change through compromise solutions.

Only -- and this must not be forgotten -- there can be no postponement any longer. The desires which have been heard at times from the other side of the negotiating table to interfere in our internal and systemic affairs are, despite all reservations, mostly the consequences of our own errors by which we have opened the doors to such desires. Our rate is primarily dependent on ourselves, a fact which Tito was always pointing out.

Therefore, the resolve over our not allowing any interference should not be manifested only in the final part of the business -- in negotiations, for instance -- but by a proper sequence of moves to correct our own deficiencies, which are conducive to such desires; that is, to eliminate them beforehand.

SLOVENE ASSEMBLY HEARS REPORT ON IMF TALKS

LD162318 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] Today the delegation of all the chambers of the Slovene Assembly considered the report on the results of the talks between Yugoslavia and the IMF and gave their support to the document that will ensure our country's credit for this year. In this connection, delegates approved conclusions on the realization of strategic socio-economic talks in Slovenia.

At the joint session of all the Assembly chambers, the president of the Executive Council, Janez Zemljaric, supplied delegates with the complete data, noting that this year our country expects to receive about $3.3 billion in loans granted by the IMF and various financial institutions and states. This amount of credit will enable us to achieve our planned targets, on condition, it goes without saying, that the basic intentions of this year's resolutions -- federal, republican, and provincial -- are consistently carried out and that the long-term program of economic stabilization is adhered to. The president of the Slovene Executive Council particularly emphasized that the conditions under which the new credit was granted were in keeping with all of our planned documents related to efforts to increase production and export to repay debts and restrain prices and inflation, which are our worst problems.

BELGRADE CONFERENCE DISCUSSES POLITICAL ACTIVITY

LD170305 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1417 GMT 16 Mar 84

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG) -- A meeting of the highest-ranking officials of the federation was held in the SAWPY Federal Conference in Belgrade today to discuss the course of political activities during the preparation, adoption, and implementation of immediate measures and tasks of the economic stabilization policy and of the resolution on economic development in 1984. The meeting was presided over by Jovan Dejanovic, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference. The introductory report was submitted by Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council. The meeting was attended by representatives of the SFRY Presidency, the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the SFRY Assembly, the Federal Executive Council, the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference, the Council of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation, the Presidium of the Federal Council of SUBNOR of Yugoslavia, the Presidium of the Conference of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, and the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy.

According to reports, it was emphasized in the introductory statement and in the discussion that we are faced with significant measures and tasks that will result in consistent analysis and completion of the first stage of the long-term program of economic stabilization and which will call for total unity in the implementation of the established policy and for the uncompromising struggle to resolve all outstanding issues by strengthening socialist self-management relations.

It was said that in the implementation of these tasks we will face many difficulties which create conditions favorable for opportunism, compromise solutions, and wavering. Therefore, it is all the more important to mobilize all social forces, from organizations of associated labor, local communities and municipalities to the republics, provinces and the federation.

In the discussion, the representatives of the highest state and sociopolitical bodies expressed their view that initial results in the implementation of stabilization tasks have been achieved. However, these results still do not reflect our strength and real possibilities, and are not enough to statisfy the demands presented by our present economic situation.

During the discussion of the tasks at hand, the participants at the meeting particularly stressed the need to revitalize the economy and to strengthen its material foundations, to further increase exports, to regulate the market and consolidate the economy financially, and to solve social problems. In this connection, it is of particular significance that unconditional execution of set tasks and accepted obligations is secured in all areas and at all levels and that difficultues stemming from further inevitable exacerbation of conditions of economic activity are overcome by full utilization of our own resources and by increased economizing in order that production and reproduction might develop normally.

It was agreed at the meeting that all organs and organizations within the federation should in the future coordinate their activity more fully in the implementation of immediate measures that are planned for the first stage of the long-term program of economic stablization, and in this way work in a more efficient and resolute way, each in its own sphere of work and all together, on the implementation of tasks concerning income. In this sense , the role and the responsibility of the republican and provincial organs and organizations, as well as all of associated labor, should be strengthened in order to implement the common economic policy.

It was also noted that it is necessary for all exponents of self-managing and sociopolitical decision-making, above all in organizations of associated labor, their associations, and in municipalities and self-managing interest communities, to involve themselves more in the preparation and adoption of new stablization measures and in taking direct responsibility for their effective and consistent implementation.

Noting that all organized, subjective forces are bound to conduct constant political activity aimed at implementing the long-term program of economic stablization, the participants in the debate emphasized that it is necessary at the same time to more decisively strengthen and develop socialist self-management and the entire delegate system as the only way to successfully resolve the accumulated economic problems, and at all levels of sociopolitical organization to consistently develop methods of common front activity in the Socialist Alliance in keeping with the specific needs of contemporary social practice and the basic postulates of our sociopolitical system.

BRIEFS

HARD COAL DEPOSITS -- Berovo -- New large deposits of hard coal found near Berovo and Delcevo in the area of Malesevske Planine [the Malesevske Mountains] in eastern Macedonia are estimated at 2.6 billion metric tons. Thus far prospecting has revealed that the areas of Ograzden, (Goten), Osogovske Planine, Malesevske Planine, as well as other mountains of eastern Macedonia, are very rich in lignite, shale oil, and other energy sources. The production from these deposits and from the deposits of shale oil found near Delcevo and estimated at 200 million metric tons, will considerably improve the energy situation in Macedonia. [Summary] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0410 GMT 16 Mar 84 LD]